The Outlook

VOLUME 95 JUNE 18, 1910 NUMBER 7

PUBLISHED WEEKLY BY THE OUTLOOK COMPANY, 287 FOURTH AVENUE, NEW YORK
LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT, PRESIDENT. WILLIAM B. HOWLAND, TREASURER. KARL V. S. HOWLAND, SECRETARY
REGULAR WEEKLY NUMBERS, FIVE CENTS. MAGAZINE NUMBERS (FOURTH ISSUE OF EACH MONTH), FIFTEEN CENTS. YEARLY SUBSCRIPTIONS — FIFTY-TWO ISSUES — THREE DOLLARS IN ADVANCE. ENTERED AS SECOND-CLASS MATTER AT THE NEW YORK POST-OFFICE

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POSTAGE is prepaid on subscriptions in the United States, Hawaiian Islands, Philippine Islands, Guam, Porto Rico, Tutuila (Samoa), Shanghai, Canal Zone, Cuba, Canada, and Mexico. For all other countries in the Postal Union add $1.56 to the regular subscription price for postage.

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THE OUTLOOK COMPANY
287 Fourth Avenue, New York City

Chicago Office, 150 Michigan Boulevard London Office, 3 Regent Street

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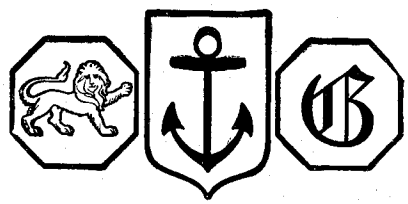

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The Outlook

JUNE 18, 1910

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

THE END OF MR. ROOSEVELT'S JOURNEY

On Friday of last week Mr. Roosevelt and his family sailed for home on the steamship Kaiserin Auguste Victoria. The arrival in New York will be on the morning of Saturday, June 18, the plans of the steamship company have been so made that there is very little probability of delay. The committee appointed by Mayor Gaynor to make arrangements for the reception to Mr. Roosevelt have done all in their power to make the welcome home suitable and dignified; it certainly will be hearty, and will be participated in by large numbers of people, many of whom are coming a long distance for the purpose. The list of men of official distinction who will take part is a long one. The programme includes the accompanying of the Kaiserin up the bay by several vessels filled with members of the reception committee, Congressional and other delegations, press representatives, and personal friends, the delivery of addresses of welcome and of response from a platform in an inclosure at the Battery, and the escorting of Mr. Roosevelt and his party through the city, the streets of which will be lined by welcoming visitors and by the crowds of people who are evidently eager to express their good will. Elsewhere in this issue The Outlook prints messages of welcome extended through this journal to Mr. Roosevelt by the President of the United States, the Governor of New York, and the Mayor of New York City, to which The Outlook adds other words of welcome from its Editor-in-Chief. Mr. Roosevelt's last week in England was in a way the culmination of his whole European trip; indeed, in a speech at the Oxford town hall he said that before receiving Vice-Chancellor Warren's invitation to deliver the Romanes Lecture, which reached him while he was still President, his purpose had been to return direct to the United States from Africa, so that he owed to the Vice-Chancellor what might be called "a fairly lively three months in Europe." The entire text of the Romanes Lecture was published in The Outlook of last week. The Sheldonian Theater was packed with a notable crowd of distinguished visitors and university dignitaries, while an enthusiastic but orderly body of undergraduates filled their own gallery. The Chancellor, Lord Curzon, opened the convocation, and, after the usual formalities, conferred the degree of Doctor of Civil Law upon Mr. Roosevelt in a brief Latin address which had in it a vein of friendly pleasantry as well as of high and serious commendation. The Romanes Lecture has been received as a valuable contribution to what may be called the philosophy of science, displaying special research and reading extraordinary in a man whose activities have been chiefly exercised in different fields. Thus, the New York "Sun" finds in the lecture "a fresh illustration of the ability and marvelous versatility of Theodore Roosevelt." It adds: "It is only doing him justice to say that his discourse was in every respect worthy of the occasion and the audience, and manifested not merely a superficial acquaintance with the subject which he had chosen for discussion but a degree of sound scholarship in history and science for which we had hardly given him credit."

THE GUILDHALL ADDRESS AGAIN

The New York "Times" gave to its readers last week by cable a full report of Mr. Roosevelt's Guildhall address—a notable journalistic feat. This

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report makes it clear that, while the previous fragmentary report was accurate, it gave an erroneous impression. From that report it might easily have appeared to many readers that Mr. Roosevelt incidentally commended the English policy in other parts of Africa in order to give point to his criticism of the English administration in Egypt. In fact, the burden of his address is a hearty appreciation of the work which England is doing in Africa, with a plain and urgent counsel that she carry out the same policy with the same spirit in Egypt. Most of those who have criticised this address as lacking in tact would retract their criticism if they were to read the entire address unless perchance they held the opinion either that a man of one country visiting another country should not express any public appreciation of its governmental services to humanity, or that, if he did express such appreciation, he must not qualify it with any words of criticism. But the so-called anti-imperialists will find in the full report plenty of material for attack, though from our point of view they might better find in it valuable material for their own instruction. For example:

> I do not believe that in the whole world there is to be found any nook of territory which has shown such astonishing progress from the most hideous misery—misery which you cannot conceive of and which in many details I could not state before this audience (there are crimes so dark that they are protected by their very hideousness from relation)—such astonishing progress, I say, from the most hideous misery to well-being and prosperity as that in the Sudan under British rule. Up to that time it was independent and governed itself, and independence and self-government in the hands of the Sudanese proved to be much what independence and self-government would be in a wolf-pack. During the decade and a half that White Mahdism controlled the country there flourished a tyranny which for cruelty, bloodthirstiness, unintelligence, and wanton destructiveness surpassed anything which civilized people can even imagine. The keystones of the Mahdist body were religious intolerance and slavery, with murder and most abominable cruelty as the methods of sustaining each.
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> I stopped at village after village in the Sudan, and in many of them—most of them—was struck by the fact that while there were plenty of children, they were all under twelve years of age. Inquiry always elicited that these children were known as Government children, because in the days of Mahdism it was the literal truth in a very large proportion of the communities that every child was either killed or died of starvation and hardship, whereas under the peace brought by English rule families are flourishing, men and women are no longer hunted to death, and children are brought up under more favorable circumstances for soul and body than ever previously obtained in the entire history of the Sudan.

We find it difficult to comprehend how the most sordid soul can, in view of these facts, even ask the question whether the British occupation of the Sudan will pay, or how the most extreme doctrinaire can desire for the Sudan independence.

AN ANTI-IMPERIALIST CORRESPONDENT

This is the answer to a criticism which we have received from an esteemed correspondent on a recent editorial utterance of Mr. Roosevelt in our columns. This criticism is as follows:

> Ex-President Roosevelt, in his article on "The Negro in America" in The Outlook of June 4, says, regarding the Government's policy in the Philippines and San Domingo: "It will always remain a marvel that the loudest self-styled champions of devotion to a high ideal of international righteousness should have been either lukewarm or violently hostile in their attitude towards both these movements for National morality and decency." The "marvel" referred to would cease to be a marvel even to Mr. Roosevelt were it recognized that our Government was never limited to one of the three policies which so many people asserted ten years ago were the only ones: viz., giving the islands back to Spain; deserting them and leaving them defenseless from aggression; or retaining them. There was a fourth perfectly feasible policy: *first*, neutralization of the islands by mutual consent of the Powers, which would forever have secured them against invasion, for no nation would have refused our request for this; *second*, a comparatively trifling expenditure in providing expert advice and help to education. Anti-imperialism does not imply desertion of the weak by the strong and intelligent, the shirking of any duty by the privileged races. It means opposition to sovereignty over an unwilling alien people by a strong nation without promise or intention of granting either ultimate independence or incorporation with political equality.

Nothing is gained to the cause of either truth or justice by a failure to see clearly the issue joined between opposing opinions. There is great advantage in the official neutralization of a small civilized

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Power surrounded by other great civilized Powers, because the effect is an agreement by all the greater Powers to regard the territory of their weaker neighbor as neutral territory entitled to the privileges and protections accorded to neutral territory in time of war by the law of nations. There would have been little advantage in any such neutralization of the Philippine Islands; certainly it would not have accomplished what we wish to see America accomplish for those islands and what our correspondent condemns. We hold explicitly that it is the duty of a strong, intelligent, and civilized nation, not merely to protect a weaker and more backward people, not merely to give them advice and help in education, but to exercise sovereignty over them, to make laws for them, to enforce those laws by whatever power may be necessary for their enforcement, and so to furnish protection to their individual citizens in their fundamental rights. We hold that this is the duty of Great Britain in parts of Africa and is the duty of the United States in the Philippine Islands. It is perfectly evident that no agreement with other nations that such territory should be regarded as neutral would accomplish any result such as this. We believe that the statement in the Declaration of Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is false; that the principle embodied in that Declaration that just governments exist for the benefit of the governed is always, everywhere, and eternally true; that, accordingly, whether the Filipinos consent or do not consent to the government exercised over them is not the fundamental question; that the fundamental question is whether that government is exercised over them for their benefit. Such government, whether exercised by Great Britain in Africa or by America in the Philippine Islands, must be exercised for the purpose, among other things, of developing in the people governed a capacity for self-government; and Americans have a right to be proud of the record of their own country in dealing with its colonial possessions, because it has exercised a strong government over them and has exercised this government for the purpose of developing in the peoples a capacity for self-government which they do not now possess, and which can only come through not only expert advice and help in education but also vigorous and forceful exercise of sovereignty.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S RAILWAY BILL

The Administration's railway bill has passed the Senate, but in a somewhat different form from the bill passed by the House. The bill now goes to a conference between the two houses. The more important of the provisions agreed upon by the two houses are the following: The creation of a Court of Commerce with the same jurisdiction as that of United States Circuit Courts to consider appeals from the Inter-State Commerce Commission's orders; permission to the Inter-State Commerce Commission, on its own motion, to investigate proposed rate increases, suspend the operation of rates, establish maximum rates, and prescribe through routes and joint rates; a long-and-short-haul clause, providing that a railway may not, *without first obtaining permission*, charge more for a short than for a long haul over the same line; and the inclusion of telephone and telegraph companies under the Commission's supervision. Popular interest, however, naturally centers rather about the provisions upon which the Senate and the House are in disagreement. The more important provisions in the House bill not found in the Senate bill are: a general physical valuation of all railways in the United States by the Inter-State Commerce Commission, which the Senate bill allows only in those cases in which it is necessary to determine the reasonableness of a particular rate; and the Government supervision of the issuance of railway securities. Of the sections voted by one house and not by the other, the most important, in President Taft's estimation and in ours, is that approved by the House concerning the control of the future issues of stocks and bonds. Both President Roosevelt and President Taft have repeatedly declared themselves in favor of a provision which shall prevent the recurrence of the old abuses of stock-watering and overcapitalization. In such a provision there is nothing radical. It has been in operation

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with beneficent results in Massachusetts for a number of years. There is in it nothing adverse to the rights of property. On the contrary, it protects the honest investor from the rapacious and unscrupulous railway wrecker. The principal sections of the bill as prepared by the Administration which have been regrettably eliminated by both houses are two: one provided for the legalization of traffic agreements subject to the Commission's approval, and one forbade the merging of competitive roads. To make all traffic agreements illegal is folly; the practical effect is to substitute secret "gentlemen's agreements" for such as are open. In many cases such agreements are for the benefit of the public, which is injured by railway wars and fluctuating fares as well as by railway combinations and excessive fares. But even without the traffic agreement provision, and even were the bill not to have some of the desirable features recommended by one house and not by the other, the provisions agreed upon by both houses represent both a substantial and gratifying step in advance and the logical conclusion of the principle of Governmental control emphasized by the Hepburn Bill of four years ago.

THE NEXT CONGRESS: THE PENNSYLVANIA DELEGATION

An important political work before the country is the election of the next Congress. The actual election occurs on November 8. The result, however, will be largely determined at the nominating conventions and at the nominating primaries. Subject to the call of the local party organizations, nominating conventions are held in those States where direct primary laws have not yet been enacted. Nominating primaries are held in those States where direct primary laws secure the more direct expression of the popular will. These primaries occur on various dates. In Indiana, Ohio, Kentucky, Maine, and in some Southern States they have already taken place. Those in Pennsylvania, Iowa, and South Dakota occurred last week. Next week those in North Dakota and Vermont take place. Contrasted with the months before and after, July is remarkable for the absence of nominating primaries, only Texas breaking the silence. In August seven States act, and in September eight. On the other hand, only one State—New York—acts in October. So far the results of the primaries have emphasized the progressive and radical element in the Republican party. Perhaps the most striking event occurred at Pittsburgh, where the Hon. John Dalzell, present Representative in Congress, all but failed of renomination. The reasons for this are not far to seek. The country has grown away from the type of statesmanship represented by Mr. Dalzell. He has been Speaker Cannon's chief lieutenant in the Committee on Rules. But Cannonism defied the country once too often, and died. Mr. Dalzell is an ultra-protectionist. The country demands a lower tariff. He is opposed to a permament, non-partisan tariff commission. The country wants it. He even objects to any inquiry by the present temporary Tariff Board into the cost of production here and abroad. The country backs the President in desiring the investigation. Under these circumstances, what does Mr. Dalzell's twenty-three years in Congress avail? What avails his return there more times continuously than any other member save one? What avails his previous majorities of ten thousand? His fall to a few hundred votes is significant as to other contests of similar character. For if, in the protection-ridden seat of the iron and steel industry, this leading ultra-protectionist barely wins renomination, where shall others of his type in less protectionist States stand?

THE IOWA, SOUTH DAKOTA AND NEW JERSEY DELEGATIONS

The results in the Iowa primaries are also impressive. It is true that Governor Carroll has been nominated for re-election over Mr. Garst, a Progressive Republican indorsed by Senators Dolliver and Cummins. It is true that, in case of Republican success at the autumn election, the Iowan delegation in the House of Representatives will be, as at present, composed of three "stand-patters" and seven "progressives." But the event in Iowa, like that in Pennsylvania, concerns the blow to a veteran in the House—in the case of

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Iowa, to the Hon. John A. T. Hull. Like Mr. Dalzell, Mr. Hull has been in Congress for twenty years, and has long been Chairman of the important Committee on Military Affairs. He is emphatically a "stand-patter," and is a leading ally of Speaker Cannon. The forced retirement of such a man is of far more consequence and significance than the gain of a seat by the Regulars. To make the progressive victory the more emphatic, Judge Prouty, Mr. Hull's successful opponent, carried every county in his district. In South Dakota the contest between the Stalwarts and the Progressives for the nomination of Governor was so close that it may take an official recount to settle it. In New Jersey Representative Fowler's candidacy to succeed Senator Kean is made specially interesting by the adoption of resolutions by the Progressives in that State. These declare that the next United States Senator from New Jersey should be chosen in accordance with the law now on the statute-books, which provides for the designation at the primaries of the man whom the voters want the Legislature to select for the office. But to make assurance doubly sure, the Progressives sensibly pledged themselves not to vote for any legislator who did not promise as follows:

I do hereby solemnly declare upon my honor that, if nominated and elected to the Legislature, I will vote for that Republican for United States Senator who shall receive the largest number of votes cast in the State by the Republicans as their choice for United States Senator, and, further, that I will do all in my power to secure the election of said Republican to the United States Senate. I do hereby solemnly declare upon my honor that I will do all in my power to secure such an amendment to the present primary law as will make it obligatory upon all candidates for the Assembly and Senate to make such a declaration as the above with regard to their respective party candidates for the United States Senate.

MAKING NEW CITIZENS

The flood of immigration in recent years is making itself felt in a new direction in some of the great centers of population where immigrants have settled in large numbers. The courts are being overwhelmed by the stream of aliens desiring to transfer their allegiance to the Constitution of the United States. In the course of the next two years this stream may assume the characteristics of a spring freshet as it piles up against the gates, unless a wider channel is provided. It is estimated that within the jurisdiction of the three courts in New York County empowered to act there are 150,000 men who will be entitled to apply for naturalization within the next two years, and that more than three-fourths of them will ultimately take advantage of their privilege. Moreover, this number is being increased at the rate of 50,000 annually. These courts are "making" citizens at the rate of only 4,500 a year. The smallness of this number is due chiefly to lack of judicial facilities, and in the Federal courts, in a measure, also to small clerical forces. The greater care required by the new Federal Act in determining the fitness of the petitioners is also an important factor. Where once possibly three hundred cases could be disposed of in a day, sixty or seventy is now the maximum for a day's calendar. As the judges have other duties to perform, not one of the courts feels that it can undertake to naturalize more than the latter number in a week. In the Federal Court in Brooklyn the limit is thirty a week, and in the State Supreme Court in New York County the maximum is forty. The bureau of the last-named Court is so congested that, at the present rate of adjudication, the petitions already received will occupy the attention of the Court for nearly a year. New petitioners cannot expect to have action taken in their cases in time to cast a ballot in 1911, although already qualified by residence to have immediate attention. In the Federal courts only fifteen petitions can be accepted in a day, double that number of petitioners being turned away, at serious loss of time and money to the applicants. The actual cost in cash of citizenship papers to some of the petitioners has been as high as forty-six dollars, exclusive of the statutory fee. This represented wages lost and compensation to witnesses for their time, several visits to the Naturalization Bureau being required before the case received a hearing. Conditions are similar in Brooklyn. The volume of petitioners, were it not for these discouraging conditions, can only be surmised. Material advantage

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must be the chief motive for naturalization at the present time, for the test of political ideals offered is a severe one, and one tending to create at the very beginning of the relationship a bad impression of American institutions. The Liberal Immigration League has suggested that, in view of the fact that naturalization is now a purely Federal function, Congress ought to establish a special naturalization court in the judicial districts where there is now, or is likely to be in the near future, congestion in the naturalization bureaus. Congressman Bennet, of New York, who is a member of the United States Immigration Commission, has introduced a bill providing that Commissioners of Naturalization may be appointed by the President to serve where there is demand for additional judicial facilities for naturalization, and that they shall sit daily to hear cases. It has been suggested that provision be made for evening sessions to accommodate wage-earners.

THE NEGRO IN OKLAHOMA

Negro disfranchisement is a live issue in Oklahoma. The Democratic party, which has been in power in Oklahoma ever since Statehood was granted, has secured the adoption in the Legislature of a resolution suggesting the so-called "grandfather test" as an amendment to the State Constitution. This test is a device for limiting the suffrage which has been adopted in some Southern States—or, to be more accurate, it is a device for permitting illiterate or otherwise disqualified whites to vote, while keeping from the ballot illiterate or otherwise disqualified blacks. Such a test sometimes has proved necessary or at least excusable as a temporary expedient, in order to secure the adoption of proper safeguards to the suffrage. In this case, however, the test is proposed as a part of the permanent, organic law of the State. Moreover, the Legislature of Oklahoma has presented an ingenious expedient which will make the defeat of such a Constitutional amendment rather difficult. While in extraordinary session the Legislature enacted a law providing that, whenever the Legislature should suggest to the people the initiation of an amendment to the State Constitution, the initiated proposition might be placed anywhere on the ballot without a distinguishing mark, and should appear only as an affirmative proposal "for the amendment." Unless a voter should erase this line, his ballot would be counted for the proposition. Thus an illiterate voter who does not mark his ballot in any way votes for the proposition. On the other hand, those who vote against it must be literate enough to search out the proposition among the items on the ballot in order to erase it. Why should the Legislature of Oklahoma take such pains to secure this suffrage amendment? The negroes in Oklahoma represent less than eight per cent of the population. As voters, however, they constitute a sufficient number to make a difference in the election results if they vote solidly. The possible voting strength of the negroes in Oklahoma is estimated at about thirty thousand votes. At the last Presidential election the Democratic plurality was about twelve thousand, but the Democratic vote was about nine thousand less than the combined votes of the Republicans and the Socialists. If this amendment should be adopted, it would seem to assure to the Democrats a safe majority. The plan has the approval, we understand, of the Democratic Governor of Oklahoma, Mr. C. N. Haskell. Like the attempts that have been made in Maryland, this disfranchisement movement is not an undertaking to improve the quality of the electorate and to associate responsibility with power, but is clearly a political move to secure advantage for a political organization. Neither the State of Oklahoma nor the Democratic party can afford to have this movement become successful.

THE YOSEMITE NATIONAL PARK

The investigations undertaken in preparation for the Hetch-Hetchy hearing, already spoken of in The Outlook, brought out two important matters. Seemingly the legal status of the Yosemite National Park is indefinite, and therefore uncertain. It was set aside as a forest reserve, and not as a park, in a loosely drawn act of Congress, and is only a National Park by inference and implication. Rights of intrusion by permit for various purposes are not definitely limited

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in the law, and the law officers of the Interior Department are in constant difficulty in construing the vague provisions of conflicting acts. Obviously, a clearly stated and comprehensive law covering all National Parks is needed for their adequate protection and development. The able private counsel who are studying the situation on behalf of those who want the parks preserved are of the opinion that the practice of granting revocable permits to do irrevocable things—as in the Garfield permit practically to alienate eventually a watershed of over five hundred square miles—is wrong in fact and in principle. They argue that if Congress had the intent to establish "forever" a National Park, a provision to grant rights of way for telephone and other electric lines should never have been construed to allow the virtually permanent eventual control of large areas to pass from the Government under a new permit. Only Congress, it is insisted, can properly make such grants in practical perpetuity. It is desired to correct this situation by comprehensive legislation; and meanwhile there are both reason and opportunity for San Francisco to look sharply at her local sources of a water supply, allowing all of the Yosemite glories to remain untouched, for her own great advantage as well as for the advantage of all the world.

THE SOUTH AMERICAN EXHIBITIONS

Interesting and important exhibitions of art at Buenos Aires, Argentina, and Santiago, Chile, are taking place this year. These exhibitions are to be held in commemoration of the first centenary of the independence of the respective countries. The Buenos Aires exhibition was opened on May 25 and will be continued until October 1; the Santiago exhibition is to be opened on September 18. The United States Government was invited to take part in these expositions, and accepted the invitations. Mr. Knox, Secretary of State, appointed a commission under whose direction our exhibits will be shown. He wishes to have first at Buenos Aires and later at Santiago such a showing of the works of our painters and sculptors as may worthily represent them individually and properly emphasize the Nation's artistic development. As the space available for the United States exhibits does not permit of the acceptance of more than one work by any artist, the Commission's choice had necessarily to be confined to works of resident citizens, and, moreover, to works executed in the United States. The Commission has taken the responsibility of forwarding all available works to Buenos Aires, and then to Santiago. At the close of the Chilean exhibition the works, if unsold, will be returned to the exhibitors in the United States. The benefit of these exhibitions to Americans should be twofold. Doubtless many individual works by our artists will be sold; indeed, the exhibition management has given assurance that the total of sales may be expected to reach a high figure: this is assumed both because the national, provincial, and municipal governments in South America have indicated that they would be liberal purchasers, and because in the small private exhibitions held each year at Buenos Aires pictures and sculpture to the value of over two hundred thousand dollars are bought annually by the general public. In the second place, the good will shown by the United States in making adequate exhibits at Buenos Aires and Santiago should cement the cordial relations now existing between ourselves and the peoples of South America. Our good will has been emphasized by the appointment of Major-General Leonard Wood, ranking general in the American army, as the representative of the United States at the Argentine centennial celebration. General Wood has already arrived, making the voyage on the armored cruiser Montana. The special service squadron, commissioned for the celebration, includes the armored cruisers Tennessee, South Dakota, and North Carolina, and the scout cruiser Chester.

THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE

Of course the main influence in cementing these relations will be the Pan-American Conference at Buenos Aires. To it the United States Government has sent a delegation headed by the Hon. Henry White, who for a quarter of a century has held increasingly important diplomatic positions. Senator Root, ex-Secretary of State, would have been

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chairman of the delegation except for the fact that he had been designated as chief counsel of the United States at the arbitration this month of the Newfoundland fisheries case before the Hague court. Mr. White will be assisted at Buenos Aires by Colonel Crowder, Assistant Judge Advocate-General of the army; John Bassett Moore, formerly Assistant Secretary of State; Bernard Moses, Professor of History at the University of California; Paul Samuel Reinsch, Professor of Politics at the University of Wisconsin; David Kinley, Director of the School of Commerce of the University of Illinois; Lamar Quintero, of Louisiana, former Consul-General in Costa Rica; and Lewis Nixon, of New York, the well-known naval expert and publicist. Accompanying the delegates will be the Hon. John Barrett, Director of the Bureau of South American Republics. The Conference is to be opened on July 9. It will be the fourth of a series of such gatherings. The first was in Washington in 1889, the second in the City of Mexico in 1901, and the third at Rio de Janeiro in 1906. The Washington Conference, held at the instance of Mr. Blaine, Secretary of State, was the first comprehensive effort to bring the Republics of North, South, and Central America into closer relationship. Mr. Blaine's Latin-American propaganda, which included his initiative in influencing the nations toward an intercontinental railway, has been of great value. The second Conference was influenced and molded by Mr. Hay, Secretary of State. Under his sagacious prompting our delegates did much to convince the Latin-Americans that we had no land-hunger. The third Conference was influenced by Mr. Root, who, as Secretary of State, went thither in person, making the event the main object of his visit to the various South American Republics. During his term of office he brought the United States and Latin America into closer relations than had ever been attained before. Recent events have shown, however, that the relations among the Republics, and between them and this Nation, are susceptible of further strengthening. That will be the duty of the fourth Pan-American Conference. Among the subjects for discussion are: uniformity in consular documents, customs regulations, census and commercial statistics, sanitary regulations, patents, trade-marks, and, last but not least, a consideration of the conditions under which the establishment of more rapid mail, passenger, and express steamship service from one to another of the twenty-one Republics of this hemisphere can be secured. The results of the fourth Conference will, we hope, be as important as have been those of its predecessors in emphasizing American solidarity, harmony, and influence.

ROBERT KOCH

The name of Robert Koch belongs with that of Pasteur in the history of medical science. Popularly the name of the French scientist Pasteur is connected with the treatment of rabies. So the name of the German scientist Koch is popularly connected with the study of tuberculosis. In fact, however, these two men rendered their greatest service not in the treatment of specific diseases so much as in developing the science of bacteriology. As Pasteur may be said to be the greatest of pioneers in the period of the discovery of those minute organisms that are both life and death to humanity, so Koch may be said to be the greatest of the builders of the science that was reared on those discoveries. Robert Koch was born in December, 1843; he died on the 27th of last month. In the sixty-six years of his life occurred that revolution in the knowledge of communicable disease which has done as much as anything else to change the practice of medicine from a fight in almost absolute dark to a struggle in the growing light. Of Dr. Koch's important discoveries the first was that of the spores of the anthrax bacillus. In 1882, six years later, he discovered the bacillus of tuberculosis. Although the outdoor treatment of consumption, which has been the chief means of conquering that plague, was a matter of experiment before this time, the whole war upon consumption has been successful only by virtue of the knowledge that grew from Koch's discovery. About eight years later Dr. Koch discovered, or created, tuberculin. This, sometimes known as Koch's lymph, was originally and prematurely hailed as

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a cure for consumption. Although it is used successfully in certain selected cases as a remedial agent, its usefulness has been chiefly in other directions, particularly as an aid to diagnosis in both human and bovine tuberculosis. When consumption is conquered, as it will be some day, the victory will be due to no one man more than to Robert Koch. Almost immediately after finding the tubercle bacillus Dr. Koch found the bacillus of Asiatic cholera, and thus enabled civilized countries practically to banish it. So he attacked the fearful scourge of the sleeping sickness, tropical malaria, typhoid fever, rinderpest, and other diseases. He was used by the German Government as a sort of commanding general against all serious epidemics; and although he was thus interrupted frequently in his researches, he was enabled to show that his scientific studies had very practical consequences. In turn he was highly honored by the German Government and the German Emperor, and received many titles of distinction from universities and learned societies in all parts of the world.

SIR SEYMOUR HADEN
SURGEON AND ARTIST

Sir Seymour Haden, who has just died in England in his ninety-third year, was an eminent surgeon. At the same time he was a great artist. The painter-etchers (a curiously hybrid term which means those whose etchings are original compositions, generally from nature, and not copies of other pictures) to whom belong by right of achievement the title of "master" are a small company. But when the names are spoken of Rembrandt, Claude Lorrain, Méryon, and Whistler, that of Haden falls naturally into the succession. The union in one person of a successful surgeon and a master etcher is an unusual phenomenon. Mr. Frederick Keppel, in an article on Sir Seymour Haden published in The Outlook for November 24, 1906, in commenting on this phenomenon, said: "It may at first be puzzling to understand how the busy and successful surgeon managed to win immeasurably wider fame as an artist, the more so as he never studied art in any school as ordinary students do. The old essayist Addison says, in the 'Spectator,' that every good man has a hobby; the bad supply its place with a vice; and it sometimes happens that a man's hobby or *play* proves to be the most valuable part of his life-work. It was so with Seymour Haden—and his hobby was etching." Here is one reason for the phenomenon. Sir Seymour was a great etcher because etching was his hobby and he loved it. But Mr. Keppel gives another reason for his eminence in this peculiarly fascinating branch of art when he says that he "took laborious pains to make himself a consummate draughtsman." Sir Seymour had a full measure of that genius which consists in "the infinite capacity for taking pains." But both these qualities would have left him far short of the eminence which he reached if he had not possessed that rarer kind of genius which, because it cannot be defined, is called inspiration. Sir Seymour took up etching comparatively late in life and produced two hundred and forty plates, most of them in pure etching, but some few in dry-point and mezzotint. His most famous plate is "Shere Mill Pond," which was etched in 1860, and of which Philip Gilbert Hamerton said, "With the single exception of one plate by Claude [Lorrain], this is the finest etching of a landscape subject that has ever been executed in the world." He began his art work at a time when etching was in England not only utterly neglected, but generally despised. John Ruskin had called it "a blundering art," and it was a long time before Sir Seymour's work succeeded in overcoming that slurring characterization and in awakening the English public to the realization that England had produced one of the greatest etchers of all time.

"O. HENRY"

It is sometimes said that the American supremacy in short-story writing once conceded by many English critics has not of late been well maintained; that the work of Howells, Stockton, Miss Wilkins, and other famous tellers of tales is not quite being duplicated by newcomers. Mr. Sydney Porter (who chose his pseudonym by taking the first name he could think of, and prefixing the initial easiest to write) made a sudden leap to popular favor about ten years ago,

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and has since amused and interested magazine readers and book readers, one may say, continuously; for, although no collection of stories can have exactly even merit, Mr. Porter's positive and comparative failures have been few, and not at all noticeable in comparison with the number and degree of his successes. The happily chosen titles of the books in which his stories are gathered has been one element in their popularity; "Cabbages and Kings," "The Four Million," and "Manhattan Nights' Entertainment" pique curiosity and suggest the sort of fun that made a large part of the author's special appeal. Every story he wrote had a sharply made point, and more often than not his point was reached with a quick and surprising twist of events. O. Henry wrote slang and burlesqued men and things, but he could and did write terse English and deal with life and character sincerely and tenderly. Some of his earlier stories, especially, are full of live sympathy with "the under dog in the world's fight;" as examples we may name "Whistling Dick's Christmas" and "Georgia's Ruling," the second of which The Outlook had the pleasure of printing. Mr. Porter is quoted as saying, when praised for his minute knowledge of New York's life, "Just change Twenty-third Street in one of my New York stories to Main Street, rub out the Flatiron Building and insert Town Hall, and the story will fit any up-State town just as well. So long as a story is true to human nature, all you need to do to make it fit any town is to change the local color. You can make all the characters of the 'Arabian Nights' parade up and down Broadway." Yes; but few writers can make the local color so true and vivid as did "O. Henry;" while his sense of humor and his dramatic instinct were unusual.

MAKING KANSAS CITY A SEAPORT

The people of Kansas City lately finished raising by popular subscription a fund in excess of one million dollars to establish a boat line between that city and St. Louis. The matter is of more than local interest, for it is the first attempt of an inland community to develop in a systematic and businesslike way a portion of the vast river system of waterways in the United States. The attempts to navigate the rivers have been made heretofore with the old-fashioned stern-wheel boat of the type developed a half-century ago. The work of loading and unloading generally has been done by hand, and the facilities for handling freight on the levees have usually been primitive. It is the purpose of the directors of the Kansas City boat line to build a fleet of modern steel freighters adapted for shallow water traffic. The type of boat to be used is still to be decided on, but that which has proved successful on the Rhine and other German waterways is to be carefully investigated with a view to its adoption. Part of the funds are to be used for building modern terminals at Kansas City and St. Louis, equipped with the most economical and efficient machinery. Freight is to be received and delivered on a level with the top of the bank, thus avoiding the wasteful haul up the long, sloping levee. Army engineers have reported that it is possible at moderate expense to maintain a twelve-foot channel from Kansas City to St. Louis, and the boat line projectors are hoping that Congress will make this a part of a permanent system of inland waterways. The movement to "make Kansas City a seaport" began shortly after railway rebating was stopped by the Roosevelt Administration. An enormous jobbing business had been built up at Kansas City on rebates. With these abolished, it was found that the city was at a serious disadvantage as compared to other towns where there was either real or potential water competition. Kansas City is 280 miles from St. Louis by rail and 405 by river. The report of the Inland Waterways Commission last year showed a railway rate on first-class matter of forty-three cents a hundred pounds from St. Louis to Clinton, Iowa, 287 miles, against sixty cents from St. Louis to Kansas City, 280 miles. The reason was that water competition was recognized on the Mississippi and not on the Missouri. It was decided, therefore, to raise a million dollars by popular subscription for a modern boat line. So widespread was the interest that many prominent business men devoted most of their time

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throughout the month of March to canvassing for subscriptions. There were a few $25,000 and $50,000 subscriptions, but the bulk of the money came in small amounts. The subscribers were given preferred stock in the line, and the promoters hope in time to pay dividends. To protect the company from falling into the control of interests inimical to navigation, its management is vested in thirteen directors owning 2,000 shares of common stock, of a face value of one dollar a share. No director can sell without offering the stock to the rest of the board at its par value, and any director may be compelled to sell by the other members. Thus the directors are virtually trustees for the people of Kansas City.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE

It is not by deliberate design but by a significant coincidence that we publish in this issue the address by Mr. Roosevelt on "The Colonial Policy of the United States" and the paper by Dr. Scott on "An International Court of Arbitral Justice." These utterances on opposite sides of the Atlantic, undesignedly nearly simultaneous, indicate a unity of American sentiment on this subject. We think they indicate a unity of world sentiment.

Our colonial policy has been more than a policy: it has been an expression of justice and humanity. Our treatment of weaker neighbors, which Mr. Roosevelt so tersely and effectively describes, has been for them all, as for the Cubans, an endeavor to secure for them what they themselves want, a continuance of order, and consequent peace and prosperity. This has not been accomplished without opposition—chiefly from three sources: It has been opposed by those who think that any departure from the traditions of our fathers is full of peril, who do not believe that new days demand new duties; by those who measure National policies wholly by their effect on the Nation, who feared to give to the Porto Ricans and to the Filipinos the benefit of the American market, and who have only just now consented to do this act of justice to the latter people; and by those who think that all men are born with a capacity for self-government, and that for one people to govern another people, even for their own good while they are acquiring the art of self-government, is tyranny and injustice. Great bodies move slowly, and it has taken some years for the idea to infiltrate the masses of the American people which Mr. Roosevelt assumes as axiomatic, that great nations exist to do great tasks in services to peoples who are their neighbors and need their aid.

If all the great nations would accept this maxim and act upon it, one of the chief causes of war would be eliminated. If Russia had been animated by this spirit in her dealings with Manchuria, there would have been no Russo-Japanese War. If the South had been animated by this spirit in 1850, and had followed the counsels of her true leaders then in her dealings with the African race, as she is now increasingly doing, there would have been no Civil War. If England under George III had pursued this just and generous policy toward her American colonies, there would have been no American Revolution. If William Pitt and Napoleon Bonaparte had been actuated by this spirit, the desolating Napoleonic wars would have been avoided.

That this is increasingly the spirit of the Great Powers will be evidenced to any one who will compare America's treatment of the dependent races to-day with her treatment of the North American Indians during the first half of the nineteenth century, or the policy of Great Britain in India under Lord Morley with her Indian policy under Clive and Hastings. When one nation is attempting to rob another nation of its territory, when a strong people are using their power to oppress a weaker people, the question at issue cannot be settled by arbitration. The question between the Boxer mob attempting to loot Peking and murder its foreign residents and the army marching to the foreigners' relief cannot be referred to an international tribunal. If a burglar is in my house, the question whether he shall carry off my goods cannot be peacefully referred to a court: he will not refer it, and I cannot. Before the nations were pervaded by a spirit of justice the controversies between them could not be settled by a court of justice. The

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spirit of justice must precede courts of justice. The hope for peace lies primarily in this, that the civilized nations are transferring the emphasis of their thinking from national interests and national rights to national duties. In this great world movement, of which the world is hardly conscious, the Anglo-Saxon race has led the way. But there is no nation that is democratic in its spirit which has not experienced in some measure the transformation.

In this silent but radical revolution is to be found the secret of the world movement for an International Court of Arbitral Justice. So long as the nations desired to do whatever they had power to do, war was the arbiter; now that they are increasingly desiring to do what is just, tribunals are becoming the arbiter. For war settles questions of *power;* but only a disinterested tribunal can settle a question of *justice.* This is the reason why a few belated thinkers still doubt the practicability of organizing a Supreme Court of the Nations. They are not aware of the change which has silently taken place in national ideals and national ambitions. They are accustomed to say that human nature has not changed. They are mistaken. Human nature has changed. The sense of justice as between nations is far more powerful in all the great nations of the civilized world than it was a hundred years ago.

And in this fact, too, is found the answer to those who ask, How will the decrees of the Court of Arbitral Justice be enforced? There are sheriffs to enforce the decrees of a court, and behind the sheriffs a militia, and behind the militia the standing army. Where are the sheriffs and the militia and the standing army to enforce the decrees of a Hague Tribunal? Here is the answer, also, to those who desire to put at the disposal of the International Court an international navy.

The increased sense of justice and the increased power of public opinion are such that there is very good reason to believe that no such international navy will ever be required. The fact that something like a hundred and fifty international disputes have been referred to arbitration, and that in no case has the defeated party refused to abide by the decree of the arbitrators, is significant. The commercial and industrial interests which are opposed to war are very great. They are reinforced by the growing sentiment of humanity, the growing sense of a human brotherhood which includes men of all races and nationalities, and a growing realization of the enormous waste of life and treasure produced by war. If some other and better way of protecting national rights and determining international questions than the method of war is established and proved to be practicable, the national sentiment for peace will be greatly reinforced, and the injustice threatened must be very clear or the popular passion aroused very vehement to lead any civilized nation to reject the adverse decision of a Court to which it has submitted its case.

But even should it do so, to put a navy at the disposal of the Court is not the only method left to compel submission to its decrees. The nations which have constituted the Court of Arbitral Justice have only to unite in a policy of non-intercourse. There is no nation in Christendom which could long resist such a policy put in force against it. The United States, owing to the size of its territory and the variety of its productions, is probably the most independent nation on the globe. Probably there is no other nation which has more fully within itself the resources necessary to a comfortable life. But if the United States should reject a decree against it from the Court of Arbitral Justice, and the other Powers, without firing a gun, were simply to say to the United States, You have cast yourself out of our world; no citizen of yours shall cross our borders; no goods of yours shall be received into our markets, no goods of ours shall go to your markets; no ship of ours shall enter your ports, and no ship of yours shall enter ours—not even the United States could successfully defy such an act of international excommunication. And if she should attempt to force her traffic upon her neighbors, she would have to encounter the allied fleets of the world.

We do not, then, imagine that the mere organization of a Court of Arbitral Justice will put an end to war. But the organization of such a Court, if all the

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Great Powers unite in it, will demonstrate the existence in the civilized nations of a spirit of justice which will itself put an end to wars of conquest and oppression; and honest differences of opinion and conflicts of interest can be settled by the Court, which, to enforce its decisions, will need no other force than the moral power of an enlightened conscience and an international public opinion.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE RAILWAYS

The President has done an important service to the country in a wise way. He has prevented a number of Western railways from putting into effect higher rates without submitting them to the Government; he has induced the railways to abandon a proceeding which would have been a violation of the law; and he has at the same time given the country an object-lesson in the need for larger Governmental supervision of railways.

Last week The Outlook reported the action of Western railways in filing in concert a notice of advance in rates and the corresponding action of the Government in petitioning a court to issue an injunction against the railways. The suit by the Government was not a criminal prosecution against the railways for having violated the law. It was an injunction suit to prevent them from doing an unlawful injury. It was directed not against merely an increase in rates, but against an increase made by combination. When the presidents of several of these railways called upon President Taft, they were advised to withdraw the enjoined rates and abandon their agreement. They did so. They, moreover, announced that they would submit the proposed increased rates to the Inter-State Commerce Commission to decide as to their reasonableness, and would make no other advance until the Inter-State Commerce Bill now pending in Congress becomes law. Several Eastern railways, without waiting for injunction suits, followed the example of the Western railways, and went even further, for they promised to submit their case for increased rates to the Inter-State Commerce Commission even if the bill should not become law.

If this bill, of which we give an account on another page, is passed, the Inter-State Commerce Commission will have power to investigate such rates of its own motion without waiting for complaints, and to suspend those rates from going into effect for several weeks until it reaches a decision as to their reasonableness.

In view of the action of the railways, President Taft at once, of course, abandoned the injunction suits. There was nothing to enjoin. The end had been accomplished. Moreover, he at once sent a special message to Congress urging that the provision enabling the Inter-State Commerce Commission to investigate all rate increases and to suspend such increases meanwhile should be made effective immediately upon passage.

By his prompt and wise action the President has turned a situation which was threatening into one which is greatly to the advantage of the public.

The Western railways, seeing in the Inter-State Commerce Bill future curtailment of their powers to make rates to suit themselves, decided to take time by the forelock. Before, then, the bill had a chance to become law they raised their rates. Under the present law they could not be restrained except by a slow process of complaints and hearings, during which the rates would still be effective. The railways, however, were incautious. By filing their rates in concert they gave evidence of an agreement in restraint of trade. In avoiding an Inter-State Commerce Law to come, they ran against a very real and very present Anti-Trust Law. The President took action. What is the consequence? The shippers are protected against an unregulated and unsupervised advance in rates. The railways have thankfully escaped a costly litigation. And the country has seen demonstrated the truth of the principle that railway freight rates should not go into effect until they have been approved by the people's agents.

For this triple result, secured through timely action, and illustrative of the value of the bill that Congress now has in hand, we believe the country will show its appreciation to the President.

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THE UNITY OF THE FAITH

A correspondent writes us as follows:

When we consider the multitude of teachers, past and present, each one claiming to present the only real, Simon-pure revelation, and notice the variation and often absolute antagonism in their teachings, how can we know which is right?

We are told by astronomers that the variations in the earth's surface, of mountain height and ocean depth, are, in relation to the size of the globe, not greater than the roughness of the rind of an orange compared with the bulk of the fruit. Such are the variations of creed in Christendom in proportion to the essential faith on which they are mere excrescences. Important as are some of those differences, they are unimportant as compared with the truths upon which all churches and sects are agreed. We have not to wait until some convention in the future formulates a unity of faith. The unity of faith already exists; and in it all Christians—Roman Catholic and Protestant, Episcopalian and Quaker, Calvinist and Arminian, Orthodox and Liberal—are agreed. Upon the most important of these articles of faith Jews and Christians are also agreed.

We are all agreed in believing that there is one God who is both the Creator and the Ruler of the Universe. This belief in the unity of God, which the Jewish Church was the first to proclaim as a fitting faith for the poorest and the humblest, has driven out, wherever it has gone, the old faith in multitudinous deities.

We are all agreed on the majestic greatness of this Creator and Ruler of the Universe. We all believe that he is a Universal Presence, the same in all parts of the universe and in all epochs of history. This faith that "we are ever in the presence of an Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed" has driven out wherever it has gone all worship of minor deities, all attempts to represent him by pictures or statues—in a word, all idols and idolatries.

We are all agreed also that this God is a Personal God. By this we do not mean that he is localized in any one central spot in the universe, or dwells more in one place than in another; we mean that this Infinite and Eternal Energy thinks and feels; that the universe has been thought out by him and is wrought out by him upon a definite plan and with a definite purpose. "There are," says James Martineau, "but three forms under which it is possible to think of the ultimate and immanent principle of the universe—Mind, Life, Matter: given the first, it is intellectually thought out; the second, it blindly grows; the third, it mechanically shuffles into equilibrium." All Christians believe that the universe is intellectually thought out; that its relations are intellectual relations; that science does not create them but discovers them; that Science thinks the thoughts of God after him.

All Christians believe that human development as well as material development has been intellectually thought out; that there is a moral order in human history as there is an intellectual order in natural history; that evolution is progress and has a *terminus ad quem* no less than a *terminus a quo;* that the terminus toward which it is tending, however obscure it may be to us, is clear to Him who guides and directs it to the fulfilling of his great and beneficent design. This terminus we call the Kingdom of God, and we all believe that the world, under the guidance and inspiration of the All-Father, is moving steadily, though slowly, to a predetermined end. In brief, we all believe, with Matthew Arnold, that in history there is a Power not ourselves that is making for righteousness, and, with Alfred Tennyson, we

> "Doubt not through the ages one increasing purpose runs."

We differ as to the origin of man. Some of us—probably to-day a large majority—believe that God made man a sinless being and he fell into sin; others think the race, and every individual in the race, is developed from a lower animal order. But we all believe that as man now exists upon the earth he is made, or is being made, in the image of God; that into him God has breathed the breath of his own life; that man is the offspring of the Most High; and that therefore in himself, at his best estate, he is to look for an interpretation of the nature of God. The Eternal may be more than his offspring, but he cannot be less. Therefore

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all Christians believe that God thinks as man thinks, though greater thoughts; plans as man plans, though with greater design; and loves as man loves, though with deeper and more enduring affection. And because God has made man in his own image, because into man he has breathed his own spirit, because man is his offspring, communication between God and man is possible. Man can communicate with God—that is prayer; God can communicate with man—that is inspiration. In prayer and in inspiration thus conceived all Christians believe.

All Christians are agreed in the most essential articles of their faith respecting the relation between this All-Father and his children. Roman Catholic and Protestant, Calvinist and Arminian, Orthodox and Liberal, we all agree that God demands righteousness of his children and demands nothing else. We all accept the Ten Commandments as a simple embodiment of that demand. A reverence for God, respect for our parents, a little time kept from the drudgery of toil for the higher life, regard for the four fundamental rights of our neighbor (his right to his person, to his family, to his property, and to his reputation), and all this done sincerely because we wish to do it—this we all believe is the whole duty of man. All the various forms of worship, from the mass of the Roman Catholic Church to the silent prayers of the Quaker Meeting, are only different methods of expressing our penitence for our sins, our reverent affection for our Father, and our desire for his fellowship, guidance, and strength.

We are all agreed that God not only demands righteousness of his children and demands nothing else, but also that he will help us to righteousness. Our religion in all its various forms is an expression of the human soul seeking after God, but it is also an expression of our faith that God is seeking after us. As we depend upon the natural forces in the universe, which are all one force in various manifestations, to aid us in our material development, so we trust in the spiritual forces of the universe to help us in our spiritual development. The only spiritual power we know is that of personality—the power of the father and mother in the home, of the teacher in the school, of the statesman in the nation, of the poet and the prophet in literature. The Power not ourselves that makes for righteousness in human history we also believe to be the power of a great Personality. Our faith—a faith in which all Christian believers and all Jewish believers unite—is expressed by an ancient Hebrew poet in these memorable words:

Bless the Lord, O my soul,
And forget not all his benefits:
Who forgiveth all thine iniquities;
Who healeth all thy diseases;
Who redeemeth thy life from destruction;
Who crowneth thee with loving-kindness and tender mercies;
Who satisfieth thine age with good;
So that thy youth is renewed like the eagle.

Thus far Jews and Christians are alike in their faith; here they appear to part company. All Christians believe that this their faith has had a visual exemplification in human history. They believe that they are not left to form an ideal of what human character should be by their unaided imagination, nor to construct an ideal out of the fragmentary virtues and excellences of the world's heroes. They believe that in Jesus of Nazareth there is set before them what James Martineau has well called a "realized ideal." To live as he lived, to love as he loved, to be heroic with his heroism, strong with his strength, patient with his patience, to live in our age our lives as he lived in his age his life, this is the scheme which in their best hours all Christian believers set before themselves, sorrowfully as they must confess their failure to achieve it.

And in this "realized ideal" they see their ideal, not only of what man is to be, but also of what God is. Says Thomas Carlyle, "If all things whatsoever that we look upon are emblems to us of the Highest God, I add, more so than any of them is man such an emblem." All Christians believe this; and all Christians believe that the Supreme Man, and therefore the supremest emblem of God, is the Man Christ Jesus. In his life they see the interpretation of the Hebrew Psalmist's experience of the divine life and love. They see Jesus Christ forgiving sins—saying to the sinful, "Neither do I condemn thee, go and sin no more;" healing disease—transforming the ambitious John

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into the disciple of love and the fitful Peter into a rock of steadfastness; redeeming from destruction lives of publicans and harlots given over to despair; crowning with loving-kindness and tender mercies his disciples, so that the highest title John could conceive for himself was "beloved disciple;" filling the old age of his friends with good, so that John's latest epistle is golden with the glow of a more than youthful hope; and in all his life bearing in his own heart the burden of the sin and shame and suffering of all around him. And in this incomparable life of love, service, and sacrifice all Christians see the interpretation of human history—man sinful and sorrowing, God saving and comforting. They see not only the ideal of humanity which inspires all their life, but the ideal of divinity which inspires all their worship.

Many Christians believe more than we have here sketched; but no Christian believes less.

In contrast with this unity of faith which makes all Christians of every sect, church, and school one in the purpose of their life and the source of their strength, the differences which divide them, respecting theological definitions, forms of ritual, and methods of church organization, are insignificant.

GOLDWIN SMITH

At nearly eighty-seven years of age, Goldwin Smith is dead. Scholar, educator, editor, publicist, author, historian, he had longer been styled "venerable" than were many men of equal age. He must have long since seemed aged, for he must always have been a bit austere, and thus emphatic of age. His spare figure, his finely chiseled, melancholy face, the measured tones of his sonorous voice, his natural dignity, his scholarly manner, his detachment—all suggested an older civilization than the one he adopted. He did more than adopt ours. He became its interpreter and prophet, so that, if the United States and Canada ever become one country commercially, and then, possibly, some day, one country politically, men will hark back to the time when "Goldwin Smith was riding his great hobby."

Like a true continentalist, he did much to unite Canada and the United States. But he also did much to unite England and the United States. He began this at a time when the Government at Washington needed all the friends it could get. The year when the Civil War broke out he declared that the loss of the American Colonies was a gain both to themselves and to England, and added that English statesmanship might be blamed for not anticipating 1776 and thrusting independence upon those Colonies. He followed this by declaring that in the Civil War the North was justified, not only because it would end that hateful thing slavery, but also because the Union was necessary to our National existence. Then he published his "Does the Bible Sanction Slavery?" showing that the Bible is not a code but a history, that Christianity is not stagnation but progress, and tracing the retreat of slavery before the advance of Christian civilization. The book was published in both England and America, and was an effective defender of the North.

The following year Goldwin Smith paid his first visit to America. He returned home more than ever impressed with the fascination and opportunity of life on the frontier rather than in the ancient homes of civilization. Of what avail was it that he had lived in one of the most beautiful and attractive academic cities—Oxford; that there he had captured prizes and scholarships, and finally the Professorship of Modern History; that in Oxford were his close friends, such scholars as Conington and Arthur Stanley; that from Oxford educational reform molded by him had gone forth, and was now crystallized in an Act of Parliament, freeing colleges from an outgrown status, opening fellowships to free competition, and relaxing religious tests? What availed it that not only Oxford but England wanted him, that a seat in Parliament was waiting, and that the political sponsors would be his other friends, Cobden, Bright, Mill? No, he became discouraged with English conditions and proportionately encouraged by American.

A few years later, to the surprise of men like Church and Matthew Arnold, Goldwin Smith left England to accept the Professorship of English History in an

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American college. This was startling enough. Still more startled were the English friends when they heard the name of the college. It was an unknown institution—Cornell University. Goldwin Smith was to be really one of its founders. Nor was it to be founded in some very old—for America—settlement, but in what must have been to him a frontier town. After years of successful teaching there, he fixed his permanent residence at Toronto, returning, however, year by year to Cornell for his annual lectures. Students testified to the atmosphere of these lectures. Not only did they breathe the independent thought of a man of singular elevation; they also reflected his association with the leaders of English thought.

This impression, too, came to all who ever crossed the threshold of The Grange, that fine old square-set, ivy-covered, English-looking house, built nearly a century ago, in what is now a miniature park, for the place occupies a whole city block, and in the heart of Toronto, too. In seeing Goldwin Smith pacing up and down under the shade of the great trees bordering the winding drive, or in watching him as he descended the staircase leading down to the entrance hall to greet you, one thought that George Washington himself must have had just such urbane dignity and poise. In seeing Goldwin Smith and his friend James Bryce at The Grange and hearing them talk, one realized that, after all, history is only past politics, and politics present history.

In Toronto, as in Oxford and Ithaca, Mr. Smith kept up a prodigious amount of editorial writing, his work appearing particularly in the Toronto "Sun," in which, for historical perspective and vigorous English, the column entitled "A Bystander" had no superior in any journal. In his newspaper work and brochures rather than in his "United Kingdom," "Political History of the United States," and other books, we find the real man, the last of the great English pamphleteers.

In his writings on religion he criticised the older forms of theological thought with keenness of analysis and sometimes with a caustic pen, but never succeeded in really comprehending the modern school of evolutionary theology. In two very recent private communications to the New York "Sun," in which newspaper many letters of his have been published, he explained that in writing these later letters his object was "to show before I went out of the world that I was not without religion." His own philosophy was fairly expressed by the title of one little volume, "Guesses at the Riddle of Existence."

In all of his publications Goldwin Smith sturdily and trenchantly showed, first, a scorn of narrow-mindedness, whether applied to religion, politics, education, or society; and, second, a whole-hearted espousal of the principle that public welfare must be sought, no matter how many private interests suffer. Tolerance, liberty, democracy, these things found in Goldwin Smith a doughty defender. He was a man who wrought much in his day and generation.

THE SPECTATOR

"What's that building over there?" The new Congressman from Missouri pointed a long, knotted finger across the rail of the Mount Vernon excursion boat, indicating on the far side of the Potomac a large building situated just south of Washington Barracks, and in plain sight of the dome of the Capitol. For a moment there was no reply, until one, not of the party, ventured, "That's the War College, I think." "War College!"—a short pause, and—"What do they do there?" No one knew, and so the self-satisfied Congressman, with a shrug, determined that it was just another extravagance of the Government and forgot all about it for the time. But when, a month or so later, the question of raising the appropriation for this institution came up in the House, he was one of the strongest opponents of the proposal, until a member of longer years took him into the lobby and forcefully explained to him his mistaken impression; then he became one of the most enthusiastic supporters. And this is just the case with a great many other Americans. They question, if not condemn, institutions of the Government until they are told the real purpose of such, and then they invariably become the most stanch defenders, possibly promoters, of these same seeming extravagances. The

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question satisfactorily answered, no wrong conclusions may ever be drawn.

The Spectator, when on a visit to Washington a short time ago, was asked by a member of the War College to visit the building and be shown how the higher arts of modern warfare are studied and developed in the United States. As such an invitation is rarely accorded to civilians, the Spectator accepted on the instant, and went that afternoon. But first as to just what the War College is. For a number of years at Camberley in England, at Berlin in Germany, and at Tokyo in Japan there have existed, through their Governments, institutions for the development of the art of warfare among the officers of their respective armies. In this movement Germany leads the world, and the United States is the last of the followers. It was during the incumbency of Senator Root as Secretary of War that this College, under the direction of the Chief of Staff of the United States Army, was established. For a time it occupied a house in Washington, in the days of its founding; but a few years later Congress, at last realizing the vital importance of such an institution for the army, made a generous appropriation, with which the present structure was built. The building, which is also an appropriate memorial to the ability of the late Mr. McKim, is situated just south of Washington on the small peninsula of land at the intersection of the Potomac and Anacostia. There it is in all of its dignified grandeur, as if in stern solitude to guard those who are engaged in planning out the invasion of every civilized country of the world, having almost exhausted all the details of the defense of the United States.

The officers of the War College, so the Spectator learned, are appointed annually from the army at large to serve as students under the instruction of the General Staff, which is also composed of certain efficient officers of the army who have proved themselves experts in the different branches of the service. The twenty officers who are appointed to the college for a year's study are also signally honored, for they are thus recognized by the mere appointment as exceptional men, who are worthy of higher training. Nearly all those who are connected with the College are previous graduates of the Staff College at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, where officers are detailed from the army to study the higher fundamentals of war; while those found most proficient in their work there are eventually sent to Washington to study the higher arts of war at the War College.

The afternoon of his visit the Spectator, after a jolting ride on an electric train, reached Washington Barracks, through which he walked to the experimental parade grounds leading to the War College. Once within the building, he was, upon sufficient identification (instructions having previously been given to him), taken to the office of the officer who had so kindly extended the invitation. Every two officers have a large room, where their individual work is done. The Spectator was shown all the building. On the first floor he saw in a high vaulted room case after case of the most minute maps of every habitable portion of the earth, drawn to indicate by contours the best lines of march and attack in any direction. All the details for any campaign are kept here, so that should Congress declare war upon any country in the world, inside of a few minutes all the maps and complete instructions as to movements, fortifications, provisions, transportation, etc., would be at hand. This is what these officers do: figure out all the details and have them ready on notice. There is also on this floor one of the most exhaustive libraries in the Nation on all military subjects, and also a large lecture hall where secret stereopticon lectures are given concerning various fortifications and battlefields of the world. Only officers of the army and navy are ever admitted to these discussions.

But what interested the Spectator the most was the unusual privilege of witnessing the "war game" in a room on the second floor. In the middle of the room was a long table upon which was stretched a German war map of Metz and the en-

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vironing towns. Three officers known as the " Reds " were at one end of the table playing against three officers, the " Blues," at the other end. Two umpires sat on either middle side of the table. The battalions were designated by small pieces of colored wood in the same relative proportion to the map as a real battalion or company would be to the actual territory. There were the infantry, the cavalry, the artillery and all, represented by little blocks of wood, and there was the scene of the battle ready for the first shot to be fired. It all sounds very entertaining; but be assured by the Spectator that he had not been in the room more than a minute or two before he was certain that this so-called " game " was very serious business.

The battle begins. The Reds leave the room and their side of the map is covered. The Blues, by a unique system of measuring, advance their army to certain positions. Then, covering their movements, they retire, while the Reds come in and do their maneuvering. The umpires finally call in both sides, and, with the map completely open, declare the victors. They explain where mistakes are made, and all figure out how much better it could have been done. So the whole world is fought over during the year, and so at the expiration of their detail the class of twenty officers leave little short of absolute experts.

The Spectator does not doubt that there are some who, with inconsiderate judgment, might think this War College an unnecessary expense of government; but with the advance of civilization the theories of gaining and maintaining supremacy and defending natural rights must also be improved. And no one would see the United States inferior in military affairs, for no one is certain just what the next fifty years may bring to the world's history in national relations. Napoleon may have been an individual expert of his day in planning out an Austerlitz or such an incomparably designed battle as Waterloo; but there are too many military experts in Europe now to trust to the development in America, on a moment's notice, of such strategic masters as Generals Lee, Grant, and Scott. Their work was remarkable, and yet it had its faults, which, in the light of military investigation, could at the present time be obviated. And as the world improves, so must war. A striking example of this is the wonderful ability displayed by the Japanese officers in the recent Manchurian campaign. So this is the purpose of " that building over there " in Washington. This is the work of the War College.

It was late in the afternoon when the Spectator left the " battlefield " and with a few officers walked along the Potomac toward Washington. The glow of the setting sun was bright upon the Capitol's dome, the distant city was ending the day, while from over the trees came that faint, intangible sense of spring, of new life, of peace and contentment. Truly all was " quiet along the Potomac; " the Nation was at rest, as was the whole world; this was no time for premonitions and future fears. And yet how often from a clear sky a thunderbolt will fall! But the Spectator thought of days to be with a certain confident feeling which had been created on that afternoon in seeing the development of the possible makers of destinies, or at least those who would know, if the time should come, how best to defend the liberty and happiness of the people of the United States.

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A Welcome to Mr. Roosevelt

from

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES
THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK
THE MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY
THE EDITOR OF THE OUTLOOK

FROM THE PRESIDENT

THE return of Mr. Roosevelt from Africa and Europe ought to arouse and will arouse as great a demonstration of welcome from his countrymen as any American ever received. After the heavy cares of the Presidential office for nearly eight strenuous years, he sought rest by contrast in the depths of the African forests and in great physical exertion in the hunting of large game and the procuring of valuable specimens of the fauna of the Dark Continent.

No one who knows Mr. Roosevelt, and no one who understands the character of the African climate and the kind of hunting in which he was engaged, can minimize the dangers from disease and actual combat with wild beasts to which he was exposed. It goes without saying that wherever there was danger he welcomed its excitement and delighted to observe and record its effect upon his own emotions. His trip to Africa was planned with the thoroughness of a military campaign, and his plans were executed with the vim and energy that might be expected.

In view of what happened when he reached civilization, however, those of us who had the privilege of talking with him before he went can afford to have some fun at his expense in his frequently avowed determination to avoid all public functions and entertainments. He expected to call on the persons in authority in each place which he visited, to have half an hour's conversation with the ruler if he would receive him, and then to go on his way like a private citizen, seeing the things of interest and hurrying home. Instead of that, his path from the time he landed in Europe until he sailed has been a royal progress, and the courtesy and attention and profound respect shown him, not only by kings and the leading men of every country, but also by the people, have not been equaled since Grant made his tour about the world. This is the more remarkable because Grant had the deserved reputation of being a great military leader who had commanded a million men and won a war of gigantic extent; while Mr. Roosevelt's achievements which have given him the standing before the world have been almost wholly in peaceful times, and in a war against civil wrong and corruption, which ordinarily is not spectacular and does not command world-wide attention. The remarkable character of the reception that he has had in Europe shows the deep impress that his personality, his character, his aims, and his methods as a civil and social reformer have made upon the world at large. He was always, of course, a man of great breadth of vision and catholicity of view; but he comes back to us now with his experience enriched by observation of each country of Europe

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from a point somewhat behind the scenes. With his notable power of quick acquisition of the circumstances of a situation, his close and more or less intimate association with the rulers of the leading countries of Europe and with their prominent statesmen has given him an insight into world politics that will make him still more valuable to his country as a statesman.

The people of this country will give him a welcome from their hearts, first, because of their affection for him and the fact that he has returned to them safe and sound from a perilous expedition; second, because since he left them they have seen the people and the great men and the monarchs of other countries tender their profound respect to the same qualities in the man that his own people had previously noted and loved; and, third, because by his personal touch, the sincerity and strength of his deliverances, he has increased the prestige of Americans throughout the world.

WILLIAM H. TAFT.

FROM THE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK

My Dear Colonel Roosevelt:

On my own behalf, and on behalf of your fellow-citizens of the State of New York, whose cordial sentiment it gives me pleasure to express, I extend to you a most hearty welcome upon your return home.

The people of your native State, which nourished your strength and gave you to the Nation for service of world-wide influence, take pride in the distinguished honors which you have received abroad as a fitting tribute to your representative and personal character, and join in wishing you the most abundant happiness and a long life enriched by continued usefulness and by the love and esteem which know no division with respect to party, creed, or race.

With assurance of my high regard, I am,

Faithfully yours,

CHARLES E. HUGHES.

The Honorable Theodore Roosevelt.

FROM THE MAYOR OF NEW YORK CITY

The people of the city of New York do well to welcome Mr. Roosevelt home. He is of them—bone of their bone, flesh of their flesh—and they have "a soft side" for him. Through a long ancestry he is native and to the manner born here. And the people of the whole country will join in the welcome. They have witnessed with pleasure the honor done to Mr. Roosevelt in Europe. Twice within two generations have they now seen the like in the case of two of their former Presidents. General Grant had not only been President twice, like Mr. Roosevelt, but had one of the great military careers of the world back of him. No doubt some of the extraordinary curiosity displayed in Europe to see him and do him honor arose from this latter fact. But the chief reason was the same as in the case of Mr. Roosevelt, namely, that, having been twice President of the United States, and become again a private citizen, docile to just authority, he personified in the European mind the idea of a government of laws as distinguished from a government of men. It is that idea, first vitalized on

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this continent, and afterwards followed as an example in Europe, by slow degrees and by one nation after another, which shall always make one who has been in chief rulership over this country an object of profound interest and reverence to the rest of the world. In one form and another we expressed it in the beginning in its threefold division of power in all of our fundamental instruments of government, the loftiness of the conception being sometimes expressed in equally lofty and felicitous language, as, for instance, in the Massachusetts Bill of Rights:

> In the government of this commonwealth, the Legislative department shall never exercise the executive and judicial powers, or either of them; The Executive shall never exercise the legislative and judicial powers, or either of them; The Judicial shall never exercise the legislative and executive powers, or either of them; To the end it may be a government of laws and not of men.

Great problems now confront us for solution, the accumulation of more than two generations of men more bent on their individual success, if not greed, than on the public weal. No few, but all of us, are to blame for it, either by actual commission or by indifference and neglect. With that era now drawing toward its close, let us get our standpoint anew in this great conception of government, to the end that we may lose all fear, as we most certainly shall, of a resort to force to right whatever has grown up among us that suiteth not a commonwealth, and has in it the canker of death to government of equal opportunity to all and favoritism or privilege to none.

W. J. Gaynor.

FROM THE EDITOR OF THE OUTLOOK

My Dear Mr. Roosevelt:

In my own name and on behalf of my associates officially and of the Press of America unofficially, I welcome you on your return to your native land.

The age needs men who can interpret to Democracy its own aspirations and show it how those aspirations can be realized; and men, therefore, of both high ideals and practical judgment, of sympathetic insight and broad experience; men who in speaking to Democracy can express for Democracy the common but unformulated purpose which underlies and inspires its often chaotic and contradictory demands. To listen to the murmuring voices of a great people and re-echo them is neither a difficult nor a noble task; to comprehend the unuttered life of faith and hope in the heart of a great people and by uttering it for them make it clear to them—no greater service than this can any man render to them. It is because the people have recognized in you the voice of their own better selves, because you have told them clearly what are the ideals which half-consciously they cherish, and how by rational, forceful action they can convert these ideals into achievements, that in every land you have visited the people have welcomed you. Others will greet you as the Executive of a great Nation who has efficiently carried out the resolved will of the people; I bid you welcome as a Voice interpreting to the people their half-formed purpose, and pointing them the way to its achievement.

Lyman Abbott.

The Honorable Theodore Roosevelt.

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THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY THEODORE ROOSEVELT

This is a hitherto unpublished speech delivered at the dinner given in honor of Mr. Roosevelt by the Nobel Prize Committee at Christiania, Norway, on the evening of May 5. General Bratlie, at one time Norwegian Minister of War, made an address of welcome reviewing sympathetically Mr. Roosevelt's qualities as both a man of war and a man of peace. It is to this address of General Bratlie's that Mr. Roosevelt alludes in his opening words. It may be added that the speech as here printed was extemporaneous, but was taken down stenographically especially for The Outlook, and has been revised for publication by the author. It is the first public utterance on any question of American politics which Mr. Roosevelt has made since he left America a year ago.—THE EDITORS.

WHEN I first heard that I was to speak again this evening, my heart failed me. But directly after hearing Mr. Bratlie I feel that it is a pleasure to say one or two things; and before saying them, let me express my profound acknowledgment for your words. You have been not only more than just but more than generous. Because I have been so kindly treated, I am going to trespass on your kindness still further, and say a word or two about my own actions while I was President. I do not speak of them, my friends, save to illustrate the thesis that I especially uphold, that the man who has the power to act is to be judged not by his words but by his acts—by his words in so far as they agree with his acts. All that I say about peace I wish to have judged and measured by what I actually did as President.

I was particularly pleased by what you said about our course, the course of the American people, in connection with the Philippines and Cuba. I believe that we have the Cuban Minister here with us to-night? [A voice: "Yes."] Well, then, we have a friend who can check off what I am going to say. At the close of the war of '98 we found our army in possession of Cuba, and man after man among the European diplomats of the old school said to me: "Oh, you will never go out of Cuba. You said you would, of course, but that is quite understood; nations don't expect promises like that to be kept." As soon as I became President, I said, "Now you will see that the promise will be kept." We appointed a day when we would leave Cuba. On that day Cuba began its existence as an independent republic. Later there came a disaster, there came a revolution, and we were obliged to land troops again, while I was President, and then the same gentlemen with whom I had conversed before said: "Now you are relieved from your promise; your promise has been kept, and now you will stay in Cuba." I answered: "No, we shall not. We will keep the promise not only in the letter but in the spirit. We will stay in Cuba to help it on its feet, and then we will leave the island in better shape to maintain its permanent independent existence." And before I left the Presidency Cuba resumed its career as a separate republic, holding its head erect as a sovereign state among the other nations of the earth. All that our people want is just exactly what the Cuban people themselves want—that is, a continuance of order within the island, and peace and prosperity, so that there shall be no shadow of an excuse for any outside intervention.

We acted along the same general lines in the case of San Domingo. We intervened only so far as to prevent the need of taking possession of the island. None of you will know of this, so I will just tell you briefly what it was that we did. The Republic of San Domingo, in the West Indies, had suffered from a good many revolutions. In one particular period when I had to deal with the island, while I was President, it was a little difficult to

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know what to do, because there were two separate governments in the island, and a revolution going on against each. A number of dictators, under the title of President, had seized power at different times, had borrowed money at exorbitant rates of interest from Europeans and Americans, and had pledged the custom-houses of the different towns to different countries; and the chief object of each revolutionary was to get hold of the custom-houses. Things got to such a pass that it became evident that certain European Powers would land and take possession of parts of the island. We then began negotiations with the Government of the island. We sent down ships to keep within limits various preposterous little manifestations of the revolutionary habit, and, after some negotiations, we concluded an agreement. It was agreed that we should put a man in as head of the custom-houses, that the collection of customs should be entirely under the management of that man, and that no one should be allowed to interfere with the custom-houses. Revolutions could go on outside them without interference from us; but the custom-houses were not to be touched. We agreed to turn over to the San Domingo Government forty-five per cent of the revenue, keeping fifty-five per cent as a fund to be applied to a settlement with the creditors. The creditors also acquiesced in what we had done, and we started the new arrangement. I found considerable difficulty in getting the United States Senate to ratify the treaty, but I went ahead anyhow and executed it until it was ratified. Finally it was ratified, for the opposition was a purely factious opposition, representing the smallest kind of politics with a leaven of even baser motive. Under the treaty we have turned over to the San Domingo Government forty-five per cent of the revenues collected, and yet we have turned over nearly double as much as they ever got when they collected it *all* themselves. In addition, we have collected sufficient to make it certain that the creditors will receive every cent to which they are entitled. It is self-evident, therefore, that in this affair we gave a proof of our good faith. We might have taken possession of San Domingo. Instead of thus taking possession, we put into the custom-houses one head man and half a dozen assistants, to see that the revenues were honestly collected, and at the same time served notice that they should not be forcibly taken away; and the result has been an extraordinary growth of the tranquillity and prosperity of the islands, while at the same time the creditors are equally satisfied, and all danger of outside interference has ceased.

That incident illustrates two things: First, if a nation acts in good faith, it can often bring about peace without abridging the liberties of another nation. Second, our experience emphasizes the fact (which every Peace Association should remember) that the hysterical sentimentalist for peace is a mighty poor person to follow. I was actually assailed, right and left, by the more extreme members of the peace propaganda in the United States for what I did in San Domingo; most of the other professional peace advocates took no interest in the matter, or were tepidly hostile; however, I went straight ahead and did the job. The ultra-peace people attacked me on the ground that I had "declared war" against San Domingo, the "war" taking the shape of the one man put in charge of the custom-houses! This will seem to you incredible, but I am giving you an absolutely accurate account of what occurred. I disregarded those foolish people, as I shall always disregard sentimentalists of that type when they are guilty of folly. At the present we have comparative peace and prosperity in the island, in consequence of my action, and of my disregard of these self-styled advocates of peace.

The same reasoning applies in connection with what we did at the Isthmus of Panama, and what we are doing in the Philippines. Our colonial problems in the Philippines are not the same as the colonial problems of other Powers. We have in the Philippines a people mainly Asiatic in blood, but with a streak of European blood and with the traditions of European culture, so that their ideals are largely the ideals of Europe. At the moment when we entered the islands the people were hopelessly unable to stand alone. If we had abandoned the islands, we should have left them a prey to

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anarchy for some months, and then they would have been seized by some other Power ready to perform the task that we had not been able to perform. Now I hold that it is not worth while being a big nation if you cannot do a big task; I care not whether that task is digging the Panama Canal or handling the Philippines. In the Philippines I feel that the day will ultimately come when the Philippine people must settle for themselves whether they wish to be entirely independent, or in some shape to keep up a connection with us. The day has not yet come; it may not come for a generation or two. One of the greatest friends that liberty has ever had, the great British statesman Burke, said on one occasion that there must always be government, and that if there is not government from within, then it must be supplied from without. A child has to be governed from without, because it has not yet grown to a point when it can govern itself from within; and a people that shows itself totally unable to govern itself from within must expect to submit to more or less of government from without, because it cannot continue to exist on other terms—indeed, it cannot be permitted permanently to exist as a source of danger to other nations. Our aim in the Philippines is to train the people so that they may govern themselves from within. Until they have reached this point they cannot have self-government. I will never advocate self-government for a people so long as their self-government means crime, violence, and extortion, corruption within, lawlessness among themselves and towards others. If that is what self-government means to any people, then they ought to be governed by others until they can do better.

What I have related represents a measure of practical achievement in the way of helping forward the cause of peace and justice, and of giving to different peoples freedom of action according to the capacities of each. It is not possible, as the world is now constituted, to treat every nation as one private individual can treat all other private individuals, because as yet there is no way of enforcing obedience to law among nations as there is among private individuals. If in the streets of this city a man walks about with the intent to kill somebody, if he manages his house so that it becomes a source of infection to the neighborhood, the community, with its law officers, deals with him forthwith. That is just what happened at Panama, and, as nobody else was able to deal with the matter, I dealt with it myself, on behalf of the United States Government, and now the Canal is being dug, and the people of Panama have their independence and a prosperity hitherto unknown in that country.

In the end, I firmly believe that some method will be devised by which the people of the world, as a whole, will be able to insure peace, as it cannot now be insured. How soon that end will come I do not know; it may be far distant; and until it does come I think that, while we should give all the support that we can to any possible feasible scheme for quickly bringing about such a state of affairs, yet we should meanwhile do the more practicable, though less sensational, things. Let us advance step by step; let us, for example, endeavor to increase the number of arbitration treaties and enlarge the methods for obtaining peaceful settlements. Above all, let us strive to awaken the public international conscience, so that it shall be expected, and expected efficiently, of the public men responsible for the management of any nation's affairs that those affairs shall be conducted with all proper regard for the interests and well-being of other Powers, great or small.

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AN INTERNATIONAL COURT OF ARBITRAL JUSTICE[1]

BY JAMES BROWN SCOTT

SOLICITOR FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WE are so accustomed to the close and intimate association of law and a court in which it is interpreted and applied that the existence of the one seems necessarily to imply the existence of the other, and jurists of reputation and standing have not hesitated to deny the character of law to usages, customs, and regulations emanating from the supreme power of the State if a court of justice does not exist for their interpretation, application, and enforcement. If this view of the necessary relations between law and courts of justice be acceptable, as to which there is much doubt, it must be considered as limited to conditions obtaining in the highly developed and centralized states of the present day. If the statement be made absolutely, without reference to time and place, it is untrue and unacceptable, because it is inconsistent with the elemental facts of legal history. Primitive communities existed without a lawgiver; usages and customs were obeyed without machinery for their enforcement; courts of justice appeared at a relatively late date in the history of such communities, and their decrees are not always or necessarily enforced or enforceable by the State. If we admit law to be the command of the State, as to which again there is much doubt, the command is complete in itself without any determination of the channels through which it is to be enforced. A court of justice is essentially a means or instrumentality for the interpretation and application of principles of law, and its duty is performed when it has decided the case submitted to its determination. The court does not enforce its decree, because its function is judicial, not executive; and the correctness of its interpretation is not affected by the fact that its decision is or is not enforced by the proper executive authority. When the Supreme Court of the United States decided the case of the Cherokee Indians *versus* Georgia, it performed its full duty in the premises. It neither enforced its judgment nor took any steps to do so. The petulant declaration of President Jackson that "John Marshall has made his decision, now let him enforce it," did not in any way affect the validity of the judgment, although it manifested on the part of the President a confusion as to the proper functions of the Court and the duty of the Executive. The penalty attached to the violation of law, usually called a sanction, is not necessarily a part of the law, because the command exists with or without a penalty. It is a means of compelling obedience, but presupposes the existence of a command, to whose enforcement it is attached; and it is a matter of little or no consequence in practice whether the penalty be physical or whether the enforcement of the law be left to an enlightened public opinion, provided public opinion secures its observation.

Law may, therefore, exist as a command of the State, to use a familiar term of analytical jurisprudence; a court may exist for its interpretation and application; a sheriff, marshal, constable, or other executive officer may be designated to enforce the judgment, and a penalty may be annexed to any violation of the command of the State, which we popularly call law. But each element is distinct in itself and independent of the others, and, while we may be justified in asserting their presence, we should not forget that they are separate and distinct, and not necessarily connected, for history shows that, far from coexisting at the beginning of legal development, they are in themselves the result of a long and painful process of evolution.

But the term "command," which we have used by reason of its familiarity, unduly narrows the domain of law, for it

[1] Address delivered at the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the Lake Mohonk Conference on International Arbitration.

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is inapplicable to the usages and customs which have grown up gradually in the course of centuries within a determinate political community. It applies to the statute, which is but the product of yesterday. To bring usage and custom within the sphere of command, it is necessary to resort to the subterfuge that what the State permits it commands. It would be simpler to discard definitions and consider conditions as history has shown them to be, and, if a definition be necessary, to frame it in accordance with the teachings of history rather than to impose a definition subject to an exception which largely destroys its value. If we consider the law of any particular community as the sum total of the usages, customs, statutes habitually obeyed, irrespective of their origin and irrespective of their means of enforcement, we have a statement broad enough to include the elements which form the law of that community without excluding any element which has entered into the conception of law. By so doing we eliminate the element of command, which presupposes the existence of a conscious superiority and a dependent inferior, and we admit the law of nations to full fellowship within the domain of jurisprudence. International law, like the common law, is a thing of usage and custom, evidenced, as is the common law, by practice and observance. It is not imposed by a superior upon an inferior, any more than the common law is a command. It is observed because an international opinion insists that the principles of the common law be complied with.

In denying that a court of justice is essential to the conception of law, it is not meant to maintain that a court of justice is not an appropriate and, under present conditions, an almost indispensable concomitant. The purpose is to state, without, however, submitting proof, that usages and customs recognized and enforced in the mutual intercourse of nations may be law, and, in stating that the institution of courts of justice is in itself an evolution, to show at once the possibility of creating an international court of justice for the interpretation and application of principles of international law and by analogy to demonstrate the necessity of an international tribunal which will do for the nations of the world what national courts have done for the interpretation and application of the principles of municipal law, by determining controversies peaceably and judicially without a resort to force.

Without going into details which would be necessary to establish the contention that courts of justice were unknown in primitive communities, it may be proper to consider the course of development within one jurisdiction which has profoundly influenced the world; and this particular example is cited inasmuch as it not merely illuminates the question, but shows unmistakably the transformation of arbitration into a judicial remedy requiring for its further development an international court of justice. It may be confidently asserted, on the authority of von Jhering, that in the early period of Roman history there did not exist institutions which, without a misuse of terms, could be called courts of justice; and it is also the fact that legal machinery for the interpretation and application of controversies arising between Roman citizens was wholly lacking. The first stage of development, in which each member of the community redressed his wrongs, had evidently passed, and a sentiment existed requiring an examination and determination of the question before self-redress should step in to right the aggrieved. It was therefore the usage and custom of the community to require that the controversy should be submitted to a stranger, an arbiter who visited the strip of land whose possession was claimed. The parties in dispute bound themselves to submit the question to the arbiter and to comply with his decision. A failure to give effect to the decision or a refusal to submit the dispute to the arbiter allowed self-redress to assume its former rôle. It is a matter of history that the person chosen as arbiter was often the king, who by reason of his divine origin inspired confidence, or the *pontifex maximus*, whose superior wisdom appealed to the parties litigant. In any event, the agreement to submit was contractual, the appointment of the arbiter was voluntary, and his decision was enforced by the individual litigant, not by the power of the State. In the course of time the magistrate was a

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preferred person by reason of his standing in the community.

A special body was therefore designated from which the litigants should choose the arbiters or judges for the particular case as it arose. The submission was, however, by contract, and the decision was the personal opinion of the judge, nor was it enforceable by the State. As evidence of the non-official character of the decision, von Jhering mentions the fact that there is no instance of a tribune interposing his veto to an execution of the arbitral sentence, or *pronuntiatio*, as it was called. It was only under the Empire that official courts were established with official judges, whose decrees were executed by the State. We thus see that there are three steps in the judicial development:

1st. A contractual agreement to decide a controversy by arbiters chosen by the litigants;

2d. The appointment of a panel of competent persons, from which these judges should be chosen;

3d. The establishment of a permanent court when the Empire had become consolidated.

International arbitration has pursued, unconsciously, the same course:

1st. The formulation of a *compromis*—the *compromissum* of Roman law—submitting the case to the determination of the arbiter of the litigants' choice, King or Pope;

2d. The creation of a panel of competent persons by the first Hague Conference in 1899, from which arbiters for a temporary tribunal for the decision of the controversy could be chosen; and we now stand upon the threshold of the third and crowning stage—namely, the establishing of a permanent international court for the peaceable, orderly, and authoritative decision of international controversies. The foundations of this court were laid by the second Hague Conference in a draft convention consisting of thirty-five articles adopted by it with the recommendation that the court itself be constituted through diplomatic channels. It is safe to presume that history will repeat itself and that international arbitration will develop an international tribunal, just as surely as private arbitration developed a national court, when the nations are convinced that the administration of justice is the chief concern of nations as it is the chief concern of individuals. It is also safe to presume that the establishment and successful operation of such an international tribunal will render to the family of nations the same services which municipal courts have rendered to individual litigants and the community at large.

It may be said, however, that the development here outlined applies solely to the adjustment of civil controversies in which the individuals are primarily concerned and the State but indirectly, if at all. The services which courts of justice perform in the settlement of such litigation are great, and may be reasonably expected from an international court in similar cases. It may be queried whether an analogy could be drawn between the action of a State and an international court in those instances in which the State primarily, instead of the individual litigant, is concerned. In civil cases the litigant demands restitution of property or damages for its unlawful detention or conversion, whereas questions involving public order, such as crimes, chiefly concern the State and are punished by the State. Self-redress has long ceased to be permissible in such cases, as the State appears in both as the representative of the individual to redress his wrong and as the representative of the community in order to see that justice be done. It may be granted that self-redress in criminal matters is repressed by public opinion and by official instrumentalities, so that the individual, however wronged, who takes the law into his own hands is little better than an outlaw. Is it possible, however, to settle peaceably controversies of such a public nature as might lead to war unless they are satisfactorily adjusted, and is it possible that war, which is, in ultimate analysis, self-redress—that is, a proceeding to enforce a right or redress a wrong—can be checked or prevented by the interposition of a court of justice, just as national courts of justice restrain individuals from a resort to self-redress? Let history again answer the question.

In primitive communities the individual possessed an undoubted right to punish a criminal; but public opinion, where it tolerated the right, nevertheless required that

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its exercise be regulated. Alongside of courts of justice in which adequate punishment could be secured the individual possessed the right to redress the wrong by extra-judicial means. The judicial combat and the dueler's code subsisted, but public opinion has condemned both. Judicial combat has passed away because the redress of a court of justice was more satisfactory. Dueling is indeed heard of occasionally, but it has long ceased to play any recognized or legitimate rôle. The court of justice has triumphed, not merely by statutory enactment, but because it has justified its right to be considered as a substitute for self-redress and public opinion would not tolerate a return to former conditions. Within national lines the judicial settlement of controversies is the rule, the resort to self-redress the exception. But can we expect the same development between nations that has taken place within them? The answer of history is peculiarly encouraging, and the lines of progress are clearly marked and defined. There is, however, an inherent difficulty, because nations are treated as equal, independent units above which there is no superior, although a recognition of the dependence of each upon the other under the pressure of enlightened public opinion has substituted interdependence for independence, and is creating a solidarity almost akin to confederation.

In primitive times tribe warred against tribe to redress real or fancied wrongs. The outbreak of war depended solely upon the will or whim of the parties in controversy, and the conduct of war was as unregulated and undetermined as its causes. In the next place, we know that war, which is recognized and permitted, is nevertheless subject to regulation, just as the resort to individual combat was permitted but regulated. We recognize at the present day that war is an extra-judicial remedy to which nations may resort, but ever since the masterpiece of Grotius appeared in 1625 nations have regulated its exercise. The court of justice displaced judicial combat because the reasonableness of judicial procedure appealed to the community, and judicial combat fell into disuse. Nations, however, have not been content to regulate the conduct of hostilities, but in 1907 they created an international court of prize, whose judgment will undoubtedly prevent a resort to arms for the settlement of a particular category of cases arising out of war. Is it not fair to presume that the court of justice will triumph in international law, just as it has triumphed in municipal law, and that the resort to self-help will yield to the resort to the international court; that it will be an acceptable substitute in the one case as in the other, and that the appeal to arms for the settlement of questions susceptible of judicial determination will be the exception in international law, as it is universally in municipal law? We thus see that private arbitration led to the institution of national courts of justice. We also see that the institution of courts of justice has displaced self-redress, whether in the form of judicial combat or dueling. May we not confidently expect that the international court will supersede war, which is self-redress between nations, by the substitution of a judicial for an admittedly extra-judicial proceeding? The internal development of nations leads us to believe that the external development will reach practically the same conclusion.

It is not the present purpose to pursue the analogy further. It is, however, my great pleasure to announce that a Court of Arbitral Justice, capable of deciding all questions of a judicial nature, is in the process of composition; and that the Secretary of State is at present engaged in negotiations for the organization of the court. A project of thirty-five articles dealing with the organization, jurisdiction, and procedure of such a tribunal was adopted at the second Hague Conference; and the establishment of such a tribunal through diplomatic channels was recommended by the second Hague Conference. In the fall of last year the Secretary of State addressed an identic circular note to the Powers represented at the Naval Conference held in London from December 4, 1908, to February 26, 1909, proposing that the composition of the Prize Court, which may be considered as an existing institution, be adopted for the composition of the Court of Arbitral Justice. He suggested that the International Prize Court be invested with the jurisdiction and functions of the Court of Arbitral Justice,

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and that when sitting as such it act in accordance with the draft convention for the arbitral court. The acceptance of this proposal would not only secure an international judiciary for the determination of prize cases—that is, controversies arising out of war—but create an arbitral court for the determination of international controversies arising in time of peace. It is, however, immaterial whether the jurisdiction and functions of the Prize Court be thus enlarged or whether the system of composition of the Prize Court be adopted for the Court of Arbitral Justice. This is a question of form. The establishment of a Court of Arbitral Justice either first as a chamber of the Prize Court or as a separate institution is a matter of substance, and either method is acceptable to the friends of progress and therefore of peace.

The need of an international court and the advantages to be reasonably expected from its successful operation are many and varied; and the arguments by which the court could be justified are at once apparent to any well-informed and intelligent person. At the present day the existence of law presupposes a court of justice for its interpretation and its application to any cases submitted for determination, and there is no reason why international law should not have an international tribunal for its interpretation and application without forcing or permitting nations to resort to self-redress, as formerly was the case with individuals in primitive communities before courts of justice were established. Nations have bound themselves by treaty to submit their controversies to arbitration, and it is essential that a tribunal should be constituted to which they may resort.

We thus have a system of international law, a controversy susceptible of judicial determination by the principles of this law, and we have the expressed willingness of the nations in controversy to submit their claims to arbitration. Unfortunately, however, the court does not exist to which they can appeal, for the so-called Permanent Court of The Hague is not in any real sense of the word a court. It is at most a list of judges from which a temporary tribunal can be selected for the trial of a case, and it passes out of existence with the settlement of the controversy which called it into being. Experience shows that it is difficult, time-consuming, and expensive to constitute a temporary tribunal. The decision when reached is binding upon the parties, but it does not bind another temporary tribunal which may be organized, in its decision of a not dissimilar case. One of the functions of a court is to determine the law and to establish it as a precedent for courts of justice which may subsequently be called upon to decide a question of a like nature. In such cases there is continuity, but in the case of temporary tribunals there is a lack of continuity, and we cannot hope for the logical and unerring development of international law from isolated cases, tried before temporary tribunals having no necessary connection with each other.

Again, an international treaty or convention to which all the nations or many of them are parties should be interpreted by an international tribunal created by them and by whose decision they are bound, just as a decision of the Supreme Court of the United States binds the forty-six States which are members of the Union. If this be not the case, the interpretation of the court merely binds the parties litigant, and confusion is likely to arise where precision and certainty are essential.

The further development of arbitration requires the presence of an international tribunal to which the controversy may be submitted as it arises, before passion and prejudice shall have embittered the foreign relations of the countries in controversy; a tribunal in existence or so composed that it may be called into being the moment the controversy arises; a tribunal whose judgment binds all nations, because all nations are parties to its establishment, and whose decisions bind the judges in their subsequent determination of like questions. At present the invitation to arbitrate is an invitation to wrangle over the composition of a temporary tribunal; whereas reason and experience require that the tribunal should be in existence for the decision of the case.

Again, the expenses of a temporary tribunal are borne by the litigating nations, rendering the resort to arbitration not only difficult and uncertain in result,

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but expensive—so expensive, indeed, that smaller nations may well hesitate to arbitrate the controversy which, were it not for the cost, they might not hesitate to do.

Secretary Knox has recently addressed a circular identic note to the Powers, requesting them to collaborate with the United States in the establishment of a truly permanent tribunal, composed of professional judges, which tribunal shall be at The Hague, ready to receive a case when it is presented, and to decide it according to the law and evidence, without the delay or friction so often involved in the creation of a temporary tribunal. The expenses of this court are to be borne by the nations participating in its constitution, and the decision of the court will not merely decide the individual questions submitted, but develop the common law of nations just as clearly and scientifically as the courts of England and the United States have developed the common law. The Secretary of State, the Hon. Philander C. Knox, authorizes and directs me to say officially that the responses to the identic circular note have been so favorable and manifest such a willingness and desire on the part of the leading nations to constitute a Court of Arbitral Justice, that he believes that a truly permanent Court of Arbitral Justice, composed of judges acting under a sense of judicial responsibility, representing the various judicial systems of the world and capable of insuring the continuity of arbitral jurisprudence, will be established in the immediate future, and that the Third Peace Conference will find it in successful operation at The Hague.

OUR HOUSE IN ORDER

BY JULIET EVERTS ROBB

THROUGH the persistent, importunate clamor of the women who demand the suffrage a still, small voice makes itself heard in my mind asking: "What are the new women doing about the business which has been peculiarly their own for many generations? Is the servant problem solved? Is our house in order? Are the matters over which we have unquestioned jurisdiction well arranged, and are we conducting them in a manner to show executive ability that justifies the widening of our sphere?"

We are very proud of the success of individual women in occupations once supposed to belong exclusively to men because of the greater size of the male brain; but women in general forget that men's occupations were thoroughly organized before they entered them. It is easy to mount to the top floor if the elevator is waiting for you at the first. Women have shown aptitude and acquired skill in established lines of work; they have changed nothing in the world, not even their fashions in dress or their customs in housekeeping, of their own initiative. Many women have become expert pianists, but no woman ever invented or improved a musical instrument.

Does this mean that the power of creative thought was omitted from our composition, or is it, rather, that we are inert as the result of being carried for so many ages?

Whatever may be the right answer to this question, it is certain that in the business which is ours, which men have not brought into order for us, we are doing nothing dynamic, though such action is sorely needed. We drift aimlessly; we bewail our trials; we talk a great deal; we write stories to the ladies' press and to our favorite "Woman's Page."

We tell how we secure help. As a sample of such suggestions, here is the experience of a family of six who have, they say, solved the servant problem. They have a school-girl from a near-by farm to prepare breakfast and supper and wash dishes in the intervals of school work. In return she receives a home, help with her lessons, and seventy-five

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cents a week. This may be well for Cottage Corners, but can hardly be said to offer relief for Oak Avenue.

We tell how we keep help. These revelations may all be covered by one word—Indulgence. "Kindness," the writers call it.

Here is a woman who says, with naïve pride, that she is not sure whether her maids have been exceptional or whether it is her system which has made her so successful in keeping servants. She "likes to think" it is the latter. The system consists in sharing frequently with her maids the pretty things she buys—ribbons, bright pins, bits of lace, and the like.

The Outlook had, not long ago, an editorial paragraph headed "The Servant Problem Solved." It told of a woman who was so kind to her servants that they publicly mourned her loss. Where she got them, what she required of them, how nearly they satisfied her—these things were not mentioned. Kindness was the sum of all things domestic. Is, then, the multitude of housewives who cannot even obtain help in these troublous times so deprived only because it is composed of brutes and tyrants?

Some time ago we were entertained by a number of interviews with employers, accompanied by brief comment. The inevitable conclusion from these interviews was this: There are two alternatives. The way of the housekeeper would be clear if she would select as servant a woman of her own temperament, thus assuring congeniality and mutual appreciation; or, failing such, if she would let the specimen she does secure do the thing she can do best in the house, supplementing these spontaneous and unguided efforts with her own hands.

That is, if you are thoughtless, negligent, improvident, uninstructed, choose a thoughtless, negligent, improvident, uninstructed maid; so shall contentment dwell with you. If you are exact, neat, and punctual, engage an exact, neat, and punctual maid; so shall your household machinery move as if oiled with a blessed oil.

How simple and how convincing! Doubtless labeled maids stand in triple rows somewhere, ready to be chosen. I have not seen the place myself.

If, perchance, however, the one after your very own heart be not forthcoming, life is still not hopeless. Take the first female who offers and *laissez faire*. If she cannot cook, you can, of course. If she prefers receiving your guests, why, you have scrubbed the kitchen before. If she leaves the sink greasy and the drains choked with waste, what matter? Perhaps she can sing Irish or German or Kamchatkan lullabies; let her take your place with the children while you apply the borax and chlorides.

Some writers collect enough experiences to string together in a magazine serial; the stories being true tragedies and comedies, or fictions. Nothing can be deduced from them, unless it be the helplessness of women. The last one I read ended in a conflagration. The author, in despair of getting the house "kept," burned it down.

These experience meetings enlighten no one. We all know the whole gamut of domestic dissonances, from the anæmic, undersized Pole with one idea in her head and one English word, *wages*, in her mouth, to the martyred "lady-help" who "will do things your way, though not accustomed to such, if you really think you want it so." These "solutions" are makeshifts, not logical efforts to develop a working theory. We women seem paralyzed before the problem confronting us.

Yet it is not unreasonable to maintain that women should solve it—that they should hold all other questions subordinate to the re-establishment of the home on a rational working basis. The home is the foundation of any possible social system as yet conceived. Here is a matter that does not need legislation; but it concerns the suffragist more intimately than anything she will ever be called to vote upon, and it concerns her *now*. She wonders at the indifference of the mass of women to the question she deems so intensely urgent, "Shall we gain the franchise?" Of course they are indifferent. They have not yet proved equal to the solution of their more urgent question, "How shall we get our housework done?"

The majority of women keep house in towns and surburbs where they cannot, if they would, flee to hotels and apartment-

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houses. They must stay "on the job," if one may be allowed the pregnant idiom. This they do ostensibly; but they do not handle it well. The still widely current belief in housewifely skill as an essential concomitant of femininity, and the resultant privacy of each woman's conduct of her household, prevent any concerted, and therefore effective, action.

A thoughtful and able woman of my home community, weary of the endless plaint about servants, tried, through an invitation in the local paper, to gather the housekeepers together for discussion and possible action in the matter. Two responded. The rest went on complaining.

I use the word "re-establishment" of the home advisedly. The old arrangement of domestic affairs, the primitive division of labor which made every married woman a housekeeper, every woman, married or single, a household laborer in some sort, was, while it obtained, a rational working basis; but we have outgrown it—passed beyond the possibility of returning to it. Our present state is confusion, from which we must evolve a new order, either abandoning the home altogether or making its "keeping" a law-governed business.

Is this impossible? Beside babying our slaveys and making the best of things as they are—cheerful hopelessness, so to speak—is there no way? Are we incapable of conceiving and carrying out a practical plan?

The first phase of the situation is this: Women, with rare exceptions, are both unwilling and unable to do all the work of their households themselves. This is not because we have departed from simplicity; on the contrary, our housekeeping grows ever more simple. Not half the labor is performed in our houses that made heavy the days of our great-grandmothers. Our constant tendency is to consume less food, and our modern apparatus, together with our food-supply industries, make it much easier to deal with. Compare our morning and midday meals with those of former generations. Think of the foods we buy which they prepared in their own kitchens with unremitting toil. We use more forks and spoons on our tables, but not more dishes; and it is greatly easier to cleanse them with our appliances—the pure soaps which we do not have to make, the sinks which we do not have to carry and empty out of doors, the racks where the china, standing on edge after its steaming bath, dries itself. The portable vacuum cleaners make sweeping and dusting not only easy but actually effectual. Our furnishings are altogether more hygienic and more easily cared for. Housekeeping has become more simple, but life has become greatly more complex. The demands made upon women in these later days are even greater than the privileges they claim. If there were forty-eight hours where there are twenty-four! But each has only one life to live, and not only have women reached the stage of development, reached long ago by men, when the individual soul demands an individual life—to follow its choice among occupations—but an increasing multitude of women are obliged by circumstances to leave housework for office and school and shop work during all the hours that should be given to any kind of work. Even in households where the wife remains all day at domestic tasks she has no longer the assistance of daughters and of maiden sisters, as in the days of old. And the best and most devoted of housekeepers are no longer allowed by society to be only housekeepers.

That Mary is no longer merely the down quilt about John's manly form when he comes home cold and tired is partly because he "needs her in his business" as a citizen. Society has become aware of duties which women can perform better than men. The race-family stands in as great need of feminine judgment and action as of masculine. Our children compel us to a relationship widely different from the old one of cook and seamstress. Mother's table-talk is far more important than mother's doughnuts and pies. Mother must chaperon her daughters and keep step with her sons, whether their stockings are darned or not.

Housekeepers must, then, have hired helpers.

But the second phase of the situation is that helpers are not to be had. We cannot dispense with help, because we refuse to spend the entire day in housework ourselves; and we cannot get helpers, because

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no woman capable of the intelligent performance we require is any more willing than we to bind herself to the drudgery and the consequent degradation of domestic service.

For housework as we practice it, even with its bettered conditions, is slavery. The universal rebellion against it of the half of the race so long believed to have been created for it is proof without argument.

There are a few, a very few, of the genuine *servant* type left—foreign-born and middle-aged, usually—who have no desires beyond physical comfort, who are willing to give constant labor for it, and who look upon the employer's home and family as their own home and family. The housekeepers who still possess such retainers are held to be marvelously lucky. Their own households being off their minds, they cease to know that there is a problem and go about their own particular affairs. Their number is so small as to be negligible. For the rich there is still a sufficiently large class of foreign-born domestic servants, without knowledge, but trained in the mechanics of housework and contented to serve in large establishments, where they have the society of their kind and where they feel that they share in the prestige conferred by wealth. The millionaires are not concerned in our discussion. Those who serve them are totally unavailable for the average housewife, because they are all narrow specialists, unable, even if they were willing, to take a step outside of their specialties, and because they despise economies and demand prohibitive wages plus constant bribes. Their exaction of tips even from guests invited to the house has become so much a matter of course that wealthy and hospitable hosts have grown insensible to the insult implied.

There remain for us, the majority of housewives, the riffraff of the nations of the earth: undeveloped or degenerate, irresponsible, restless, untaught and generally unteachable creatures, who do housework because they cannot do anything else, and, being female, are supposed to be naturally able to do that; who expect wages out of any relation to quality of service, because Americans were put upon the earth to disburse on demand; and they have us at their mercy. Even of these there are not nearly enough to go around.

And we whine about it, repeat our personal experiences *ad nauseam* to one another, and, when we succeed in catching a specimen and keeping her a few months in our benighted kitchens, tell it with glee to the public.

The question is not, "By what wiles shall I lure into my kitchen some Bridget or Dinah, and how clamp her there when lured?" When I have done this and gone back to my own life—my art, or my commerce, or my politics, or my philanthropy, or my social functions—I have, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, only turned my back upon incompetence; or, if I have left the door open between us, I have put new shackles upon myself; for it is easier to do the work than to try to train a hopeless greenhorn.

The question is not, "How shall I perpetuate an old, worn-out system—force an out-of-date machine to do up-to-date work—make old bottles hold new wine?" It is, rather, "How shall we reorganize our domestic life to the end that all concerned in it may have a full measure of free time and opportunity, while yet the home is preserved in its privacy and individuality; nay, more, is conducted on scientific principles?"

It is not, as we have been told it was, a problem that each woman must solve for herself, as if there were room for easy personal choice; it is a matter that concerns women collectively and requires their united thought and effort. If they can bring to desirable issue the needed revolution, it will even be no longer strictly a woman's question. Men will then be houseworkers at least as often as women are now office and sales clerks, cashiers, and the like. Work should not be essentially a matter of sex, but of inclination and ability. Many men enjoy cooking and excel in it. It is only because cooking and cleaning have been called "woman's work," and therefore contemptible, that men have avoided these occupations.

Back to the question: How to possess homes conducted scientifically, wherein each person, whether director or per-

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former of labor, shall have reasonable time and opportunity for healthy personal activity?

We women must come together for open discussion, fully awake to the portentous character of our difficulty and the pressing need of remedial action, convinced that only united, unselfish effort will accomplish anything for us. We have learned to work together decently well in public matters; our homes are still "our private affairs and concern nobody but ourselves." This idea we must lay away in grandmother's bandbox. Individuality for the woman means solidarity for the sex—for the race; peculiarity of proceeding in the keeping of the house means isolation and the confusion in which we find ourselves.

Having come together, determined even to confess our ignorance and lay bare our ineptitudes if necessary, to be searching in question and honest in answer, we must discuss—

Point One: Why is it that intelligent, educated women will, under no stress of circumstances, enter domestic service?

What has been the prevalent ideal of a good servant? A woman with traditions as to the preparation of food and experience enough not to burn things or leave out the seasoning; with untiring strength and unlimited submissiveness, willing to work not less than fourteen out of the twenty-four hours—longer if "the lady" asks it—accepting in return a monthly wage fixed by each mistress arbitrarily, a few hours of liberty per week, a Sunday of extra oftener than of diminished labor, the left-overs from the family table (frequently with humiliating reservations), the back door, an attic chamber, a surveillance of her leisure hours that makes natural sociability out of the question for her. Day and night she is made conscious of her inferiority. It does not alter the matter that her room may be "better than any she would have in a tenement-house," it is invariably the most undesirable room in her mistress's house; so is everything she has, or is compelled or allowed to do, an expression of comparison with "the family" to her own disparagement.

All this she must repay with loyalty, receiving with humble gratitude the cast-off finery, the money gifts, or the special "privileges" bestowed on her out of the patronizing liberality of her superiors.

"I don't see why the servants complain," said a neighbor to me. "They can't suffer, because they can't think. I know, because I've tried it. I did housework once for two weeks, with only a scrubwoman to help. I went to bed every night in a state of stupefaction and slept without a dream. I don't think I had a mental operation as big as my fingernail during the whole time." My neighbor was quite capable of a wit tinged with cynicism, but she spoke a truth which we must recognize—that the "general housework" which we require our servants to do is stupefying, and that American women, including the newly imported, are demanding room for "mental operations."

The girl who has been through grammar school, not to mention high school, is not only above all this in her pride, she scorns it with her intellect. The same accelerated evolution that has transformed the traditional housewife into a human being has also expanded her servant. In the possession of personality and the insistence upon independence she is no whit behind her former mistress. She must still work, but she will work only a stated and reasonable number of hours, she will live in her own home and have her own social life, she will be called Miss or Mrs. Someone, and her labor must be rewarded by a regulated wage and by respect, not by another woman's favors.

"Why should workingwomen shun domestic service," said a weary haunter of employment bureaus, "when we offer them good homes and more money than they can earn in any other way?" We offer them much—our self-respect at times—but never that dearest thing, for which we ourselves gayly brave misunderstanding and condemnation—autonomy.

Let us consider—

Point Two: How can we adapt our housekeeping to present-day conditions?

What is the universal ideal of home? A place where one may daily rest, cleanse, feed, and refresh body and soul.

In order to afford these things in right measure and kind—rest, purification, food for the dual being—the home must be private. There may be a tendency toward communal living in the big cities, but we

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of the great majority still hold to our detached private houses, especially to our private tables. We shall not be ready for eating in community for several generations yet. The home must be private, but it must be conducted, as it seldom has been, with knowledge of hygiene and dietetics, the functions of its active members be performed with enlightened skill.

Now must each housewife put to herself sincerely the questions: How fit am I to direct the ministrations upon which the health and happiness of my family depend? Do I know what hygienic cleanliness involves? Do I practice real economy in buying and preparing food and in arranging the labor of my house? Do I know the chemistry of foods and their relation to physiology? Do I follow any law in my housekeeping but ignorant inclination?

If the answer is, "I am fit—I do know," this housekeeper belongs in Class No. 1.

If the answer is, "I do not possess, but I recognize the necessity of such knowledge and will at once begin to make good my defects," this housekeeper belongs—temporarily—in Class No. 2.

If the answer is, "I know nothing and I wish to know nothing of these things; my gifts are different; it is no more true that there is a housekeeper in every woman than that there is a vegetable gardener in every man; I can earn enough by a talent I have cultivated, or my income is already great enough, to allow me to pay some one to take these cares from me," this housekeeper belongs in Class No. 3.

For the ignorance of housekeeper No. 2 there is quick and easy remedy. Every large city has a good school of domestic science. Those who live where there is no school should club together and organize one. There are plenty of teachers. The schools turn them out by dozens—eager for engagements. Very little apparatus is needed. Finally, the American School of Home Economics furnishes the next best thing to actual demonstration, as good a correspondence course as can be made.

Housekeeper No. 3 should place her domestic affairs in the hands of a visiting expert. One such could easily serve several families, going to their houses in turn, inspecting ice-box, cellar, everything; making out menus, telephoning or writing tradesmen's orders, leaving written directions posted up for maids.

Competent leadership assured, the first step—or rather the next step, for it is only a continuation of the process of elimination which has been going on for a long time—the next step, then, is the discontinuance of home laundry work. It is imbecile to do our laundry work at home. It is wastefully expensive and extremely disagreeable and perfectly needless. Most housekeepers feel this, but they keep on in the old way because in the public laundries, at present conducted by men, profit is the sole end. Purification and preservation of the clothes cut no figure whatever. Our garments, laundered by them, fall to rags as if bewitched. There is, however, no reason why women graduates of domestic science courses should not make a profitable business of laundries conducted with decent respect for their patrons' linen and purses.

All furnace-tending, garbage and ash removing, stoop-scrubbing, and the like should be done by male day laborers. Washing the outsides of windows might be added to their list.

With the laundry work and the heavy labor removed, there remain food preparation and the work required by order and cleanliness within the living-rooms. This should be neither difficult nor fatiguing nor unpleasant. Even more of our food should be cooked out of the house than is so cooked at present. Better results can be attained in bread and in meat baking, for instance, in business than in private ovens. I do not say that better results are always attained. Many cooks make excellent bread, and we buy poor stuff, indeed, at many bake-shops; but this last is no more the fault of the baker than of the housekeeper. If buyers knew what constitutes good bread and demanded it, they would get it. If housekeepers desired their large cuts of meat delivered cooked, the meat-shops would speedily be equipped with ovens where roasting could be done "to a turn" and without danger of failure. We already buy excellent *cold* roasted and boiled meats at the delicatessen stores—why not hot?

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Bread-baking and meat-roasting eliminated, the kitchen range, with its terrible waste of fuel and heat, its dirt, and the drudgery of its care, would go. To heat our canned vegetables and cook our fresh ones, and the steaks and chops, and light doughs that must jump from fire to table, a gas or electric stove would be necessary; to keep roasts hot and to digest left-overs into stock, a fireless cooker. It is economy, not extravagance, to have in the kitchen all the useful utensils, and those of the best quality.

But to what end prepare ourselves for directing and equip our houses for scientific service if there are no laborers?

There are so many women crowding into other occupations—typewriting, selling over counters, "waiting" in restaurants, running sewing-machines, doing all sorts of manufacturing—that wages are kept close to starvation point; the whole industrial world is profoundly disturbed and society threatened with grave dangers because of them. Can we not attract some of these women into our homes—to their advantage as well as to ours? We have been told many times and very definitely the reasons why they shun us. There are only three:

Long hours.
No home life.
Social stigma.

These objections must be nullified. At present they are perfectly reasonable. Take the first one. In most houses in the suburbs the hours of a maid-of-all-work or of a cook are from 6:30 A.M. to 8:30 P.M.—fourteen hours. The mistress who assures her one hour to herself every day is exceptional and apt to be pleasantly conscious of her magnanimity. In many a house it often happens that the last dish is not wiped and put away before half-past ten or eleven o'clock. The workingman fights with voice and vote for an eight-hour day; we are amazed that women are not willing to be at work, or at least subject to call, for fifteen or sixteen hours.

In order to establish satisfactory hour schedules employers must make some sacrifices. We must learn to be regular and punctual at meals and to serve ourselves, or to recompense the extra labor, when we are forced to vary. We must put away the idea that it is desirable to have our dinners served at eight o'clock or later, and to sit at table until ten, unless we are able to pay men cooks and waiters to work into the night. We must renounce the services of a maid in the evening. The habit of being served far beyond our needs is silly and enervating. It does not belong to a democracy. Surely any healthy family can open its own door, light its own gas, and uncover its beds.

The other two difficulties should vanish together. The third is the result of the second. It is because she "lives out"—has no place where she is not under command—that the house servant is despised. The poorest, dowdiest, most starved factory girl, though under strictest orders during a definite number of hours, is her own mistress after six o'clock. We must abolish the word "servant," substituting "houseworker," perhaps, or finding a better; and we must release these houseworkers promptly, at a given hour. Their living with us as inferior aliens—among us, but not of us—is demoralizing to all concerned.

The women with whom I have ventured upon discussion of this point are scarcely willing to consider it. They dismiss it with a final—"Impossible. They must certainly live in our houses as they always have done." Men's helpers used to live in their houses, and their wives and daughters had to cook for them. Men have changed all that. It is not impossible, for I have tried the system thoroughly, and have been well satisfied with the results. At the present time my cook lives with us, because I had the opportunity to secure a very superior woman by taking her and her little daughter into the house; but for two years, in a smaller home, I had a general houseworker who came by the day, and in the larger house which we now occupy, and where I keep two helpers, I have, until recently, followed the same plan.

Suppose that I have two helpers coming in by the day. We breakfast at half-past seven. This very light meal I prepare myself, taking the time while the cereal and coffee are cooking to make my daily inspection and give my orders. The cook arrives at eight o'clock, and leaves at

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eight in the evening—often earlier. She has an hour at noon to eat and rest, and as much as two hours in the afternoon at her own disposal. The women have the use of a room with a dressing-case in it to comb their hair and change their clothes. When one is going somewhere with her "gentleman friend" in the evening, he may call for her and find her ready. The two favor each other in the way of taking turns in washing the dinner dishes alone, so as to give one an early release. They lock the back door on the inside when work is done, and go out through the front door, never failing to stop at the library to say "good-night" to me, if I am there. As we live in a suburban village, I allow each girl a day off every other Thursday. Each has a vacation of a week in July or August. During these two weeks we dine at a boarding-house. On Thursday evenings the maid who remains on duty serves a light supper with a cold meat. On Sunday we serve a cold dinner, and both are dismissed for the afternoon, not to return until Monday morning.

The women so employed by me have been so well satisfied that the second girl is still with me, and the former cook has used every possible method of persuasion to induce me to take her back. That the maids themselves were all that could be desired I cannot truthfully say; but they were quite as competent as those my neighbors are able to secure, and they were *contented*.

"But"—I hear the chorus—"so few women who work out have homes to go to. They come from long distances, from the city, from Germany, from the North Pole; and when they have homes near us, they are such places as we do not wish to be in daily communication with; to say nothing of the fact that the women would simply feed their entire families from our kitchens."

Does not this objection show conclusively that we have not the right grade of women to prepare the food we eat and keep dirt and consequent disease out of our houses? Most of the helpers we employ are barely intelligent enough to perform the simplest manual labor. But if we made it possible for them to do housework and still preserve their personality and retain the respect of "the other girls," would not a better class of young women enter the field? The trouble is not in the character of the work itself; women wait upon us and cook for us in the department store restaurants without losing caste. It requires brains, some education, a pleasant aspect, and good manners to be a worthy domestic worker.

The objection, often made, that it is hard for women to go back and forth in all weathers will not hold an instant, since women everywhere go to business very regularly without reference to weather. I insist that my girls shall equip themselves suitably for stormy days, and, in all the time they have been in my employment, only one day has been missed by each on account of bad weather.

That many have not homes to go to at night is another matter, and a very serious one. But the difficulty can be overcome, if we will work together to that end.

I look forward—sometimes more, sometimes less, hopefully—to the establishing, in every community having a certain number of families, of a Central House where domestic workers may live, where novices may be trained, where a restaurant may be maintained to serve breakfasts to the business men and women who must leave home too early for a family meal, where dinner or luncheon parties might be given upon order; a house containing small but comfortable and pretty bedrooms, several sitting-rooms, and a large assembly-room for dancing and general social occasions. The boarders need not be exclusively domestic helpers, of course. There might also be rooms for women of other trades who would no longer scorn to associate with a "kitchen-girl" if she were living like a lady, mistress of herself. The house would be in no sense a charity—an institution—only a means to enable us housekeepers to be assisted by self-respecting, intelligent, trained workers.

One such Central House established and in working order would be a guaranty to the enterprise of other communities and a proof that women are capable of initiative as well as of the acumen and fidelity with which they are already credited.

Before we force ourselves into the wider field of full citizenship, let us show our fitness by putting our house in order.

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THE SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

A SERIES OF ARTICLES IN WHICH THE AUTHOR CONSIDERS THE EFFECT OF DEMOCRACY IN THE FAMILY, IN EDUCATION, IN INDUSTRY, AND IN GOVERNMENT [1]

FIRST PAPER

THE BIRTH OF DEMOCRACY

EVERY age is a transition age. But in some eras the transition is more rapid and more noticeable than in others. As sometimes in a year the girl develops into womanhood, as sometimes in a week the skeleton plant bursts into leafage and perhaps into bloom, so a nation, which has been growing silently, suddenly puts forth the evidence of its growth, and both surprises and perplexes itself by the transformation. Such is the phenomenon now taking place in America. It is as though a new-created world were springing up and we were taking part in the process of creation. Nothing is as it has been. Science, literature, education, art, politics, religion, all are being new-born. There are a new astronomy, biology, chemistry, physics; new methods of architecture, lighting, locomotion, manufacturing; a new type of fiction, drama, poetry, philosophy; new methods of teaching and an immense increase in the number of subjects taught; a new alignment of political parties and new policies as yet not even named save as they bear the names of some representative expounder, as Cleveland or Bryan Democracy or Roosevelt or Taft Republicanism; and a new theology which has not only shortened and simplified all creeds but has sometimes threatened to destroy them altogether.

These changes are not incidental; they are radical. Schumann, in "Warum?" musically interprets the questioning spirit of the age which puts an interrogation point after every affirmation of the past, however long it may have been accepted. In industry the right of laborers to organize is denied by capitalists and the right of capitalists to organize is denied by laborers. On the one hand property is so concentrated for administration purposes in a few hands as to fill thoughtful men with a not wholly unreasonable dread of what plutocracy may grow to, and on the other hand a class of Socialists appear to deny all right, if not of private property, at least of private property industrially employed. In politics there are both a New Jeffersonianism and a New Federalism. Neither the Democracy of Cleveland nor that of Bryan is a copy of Thomas Jefferson's Democracy; neither the Federalism of Roosevelt nor that of Cannon and Aldrich is a copy of the Federalism of Alexander Hamilton. No Church is immune from the New Theology, not even the Roman Catholic Church, as the Pope himself by his syllabus on Modernism has attested. And the New Theology questions the basis of authority, and questions it so effectually that neither the Bible nor the Church speaks to even the Churchman with the authority with which they spoke to the Churchmen of a century ago. What does all this mean? To what does it all tend? What will it do with us? Perhaps more important is the question, What can we do with it?

Two democracies were born in America about a century and a half apart: one in the early half of the seventeenth century, and the other in the latter half of the eighteenth century; one of Hebrew, the other of Latin, ancestry. They married. The democracy of this twentieth century is their child. It inherits characteristics from both its parents. They are not only diverse; they are inconsistent. The child is perplexed by its contradictory inherit-

[1] These articles are based on and in part condensed from a series of lectures on "The Spirit of Democracy" delivered by the author on consecutive Sunday afternoons before the Brooklyn (New York) Institute in January and February, 1910.

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ance. He does not understand himself. If we are to understand him, we must understand his ancestors.

Ten or twelve centuries before Christ there grew up in the Near East a new form of social organization which we may call the Hebrew Commonwealth. All the neighboring governments were absolute despotisms—all power being concentrated in the hands of a single autocrat. In the Hebrew Commonwealth government was for the first time organized in three departments—a legislative, an executive, and a judicial. In all the neighboring governments the power of the autocrat was unlimited. In the Hebrew Commonwealth the King was a constitutional monarch whose powers were somewhat carefully limited. In the Hebrew Commonwealth no heredity caste or class was permitted; there was the State Church, but the priesthood were forbidden to become landowners, and were made dependent for their support on the voluntary offerings of the people; methods of worship were carefully defined, but attendance on worship was not compulsory; private ownership in land was allowed, but only for a limited tenure; labor was honorable and idleness a disgrace; slavery, though not prohibited, was hedged about with such conditions that in the course of a few centuries it disappeared; woman's position, if not absolutely equal to that of man, was one of unexampled honor in that age; provision was made for the education of all the children by home instruction, aided by itinerant school-teachers, out of which later grew the first popular school system in the then known world. And this whole system was founded on a religion which had in its creed but two articles: that God is a righteous Father who has made man in his own image, between whom and man, therefore, the comradeship of father and son are possible; that he requires of his children righteousness and requires nothing else, and therefore the way to his favor is not by sacrifices and offerings but by doing justly, loving mercy, and walking reverently in fellowship with him.

How far this ideal was ever actually realized in the history of Israel is doubted by scholars. It is certainly incorporated in their sacred books. With Christianity these sacred books, translated into the Latin tongue, bound together, and bearing the title of "The Books" (now generally, by a transliteration of the Greek, "The Bible"), passed over into the nominally converted Roman Empire. Alfred the Great, the first great King and leader of the English people, translated portions of these books into the Anglo-Saxon tongue, and incorporated certain of their fundamental ideals into the English Constitution. Gradually the political and religious principles of these books made their way, against much opposition and more indifference, into the life of the English people. Inspired by them, Simon de Montfort led the movement which brought representatives of the common people into the National Council, and created out of it a House of Commons. Imitating the example of the itinerant Levites, the "preaching friars" carried the simple precepts of these books to the homes and imbedded them in the hearts of the people. These principles made of Wyclif a social reformer before Socialism, a democrat before democracy, and a Protestant before Protestantism. Tyndale carried on the work which Wyclif began, and created a public opinion which made possible Henry VIII's separation of the English Church from Italian control. At length, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the long campaign between the autocratic principles which the English people had inherited from the Rome of the Cæsars and the democratic principles which they had inherited from the Hebrew Commonwealth issued in the despotism of Charles I, the democratic principles of the Puritans, and the eventual overthrow of the Stuart oligarchy, and incidentally in the migration to New England of Puritan and Pilgrim, bringing with them the purpose to found on these shores a new republic patterned after the Hebrew theocracy, embodying its social and religious principles, and inspired by its spirit. The earliest democracy in America was a Puritan child with a Hebrew ancestry.

The other democracy had a very different lineage and inherited from its ancestry different principles and a different spirit.

Imperial Rome was an absolute des-

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potism, with labor enslaved, popular education unknown, marriage a commercial partnership, religion wholly dissociated from morality—a ceremonialism framed to appease the wrath of angry gods or win the favor of corruptible gods. The Bourbon dynasties of Italy and Spain and France had inherited this imperialism, modified and ameliorated by a Roman Christianity. But Roman Christianity had done nothing to ameliorate the despotism of the Government in France, nor much to promote the education of the people; though under its influence slavery had given place to feudalism as an industrial system, and marriage had become, in the estimate of Christian believers, an indissoluble sacrament. But in the latter half of the eighteenth century the influence of the Christian Church with the common people in France was greatly weakened, especially in the great cities. The Renaissance had brought with it a revival of paganism; persecution had destroyed the adherents of the reformed religion; the mocking laughter of Voltaire had done more to shake the faith of the people in the Church of Rome than all the arguments of Calvin; the vices of the higher clergy and their identification with the oppressive oligarchy had done more than Voltaire. The Church retained the appearance but not the reality of power when it lost its hold on the conscience of France. It could neither inspire the ruling classes with a spirit of reform nor restrain the passions of the mob when hunger drove them to desperation. The aristocracy was overthrown, but the people had no other conception of government than government by force, and no other conception of liberty than a substitution of an unchecked rule by many for an unchecked rule by the few. "As nature," said Rousseau, "gives to every man absolute power over the members of his body, the social pact gives the social body absolute power over all its members." [1] The despotism of an unrestrained mob proved to be as despotic as that of an unrestrained oligarchy, and France soon sought relief from the Reign of Terror in a new imperialism.

[1] Quoted by H. A. Taine in his "French Revolution," Vol. III, p. 54. Taine gives a graphic picture of the length to which this despotism of the majority was carried under Jacobin rule.

Meanwhile the theories of the French political reformers had crossed the Channel into England, where Jacobinism proved a temporary and unpopular exotic. They simultaneously crossed the sea to America, where, mingled with and modified by the Anglo-Saxon sturdy love of individual independence, they gave birth to a new type of democracy. The fundamental theory of Rousseau, that government is founded on a social compact and that the authority of government is derived from and dependent on the will of the people assenting to it, found expression in the statement of the Declaration of Independence that just government rests on the consent of the governed. But the Anglo-Saxon love of independence also found expression in the statement that man possesses certain inalienable rights, as to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which no pact by him or on his behalf can take from him. To protect the individual in these inalienable rights should be the end, so said the advocates of the new democracy, and the sole end, of government. "The Constitution of Alabama," says Mr. Lecky, "expresses admirably the best spirit of American statesmanship when it states that 'the sole and only legitimate end of government is to protect the citizen in the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property, and when the government assumes other functions it is usurpation and oppression.'" [1]

Thus the new American democracy differed from the original Jacobin democracy of France as the English monarchy had differed from the French monarchy. In France the democracy possessed absolute power; in America that power was limited by definite checks. Absolute monarchy was succeeded by absolute democracy in France; the constitutional monarchy of the English was followed by a constitutional democracy in America.

At the close of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century this naturalized and modified French democracy had in America hosts of enthusiastic and devoted disciples. How many, how influential, and how enthusiastic they were is indicated by the fact that in Yale College there were two Thomas Paine Soci-

[1] W. E. H. Lecky, "Democracy and Liberty," Vol. I, p. 118.

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eties, and many of the students substituted for their Christian names the names of some chosen and idealized French encyclopædists. The philosophy of this Latin or French democracy as modified by its migration to America may be summarized for my purpose in a paragraph, as I have endeavored to summarize those of the Hebrew or Puritan democracy.

The state of nature is the ideal state; let us get back to it. In a state of nature every man is free to live his own life, direct his own energies, carve out his own destiny. Every impediment upon this freedom is an injury to humanity. All government is such an impediment. A little government is absolutely necessary to protect the weak from the strong, but government is a necessary evil, and the less we have of it the better. Humanity has simply consented to it in order to protect itself. It should constrain only to free from constraint. On this consent of the governed government is founded. This is the basis of all authority. The ultimate appeal is to the people; for the voice of the people is the voice of God—that is, if there is a God. Whether there be one or not it is not material to inquire; for the voice of the people is final. A just government is a government carried on in accordance with the will of the majority; an unjust government is one carried on not in accordance with that will.

Thus at the beginning of the nineteenth century were two democracies in America: one having its birthplace and home in New England, though gradually extending its influence beyond the boundaries of New England; the other having its birthplace and home in Virginia, and much more rapidly extending its influence beyond the boundaries of Virginia. One was founded on faith in God, the other was untheistic if not atheistic. To one, the basis of all authority is the will of God; to the other, the will of the majority. To one, law is the will of God, the expression of that will is in the Ten Commandments, and human laws are just only when they are in harmony with that will; to the other, law is the expression of the will of the majority, and any government is just which is founded on and is the expression of that will, and no other government is or can be just. One desired to limit the suffrage to those who were obedient to the will of God, though they found it difficult to provide a satisfactory test; the other believed in universal and unqualified suffrage. One honored labor whether it was manual or intellectual, and condemned idleness whether of poverty or wealth. The other soon learned to engraft upon its free States a system of slavery not materially different from that of pagan Rome. One borrowed from Hebraism the synagogue school, transformed it into a public school supported by the State; the other left education to be carried on by the family as a private enterprise, aided by the private school, by the Church, and by occasional charity. One was social, the other individual. One tended toward co-operation, combination, organization; the other toward competition. One looked forward toward realizing the kingdom of God on the earth, the other sought to return to the state of nature. The motto of one was the law of Christ: One is your Master, even Christ, and all ye are brethren. The motto of the other was the law of the forest: Struggle for existence, survival of the fittest.

Out of these two democracies, one the child of French and Roman ancestry, the other the child of Puritan and Hebrew ancestry, the American democracy of the twentieth century was born. In the child the contradictory characteristics of its ancestors are struggling, each modifying the other. By the principles furnished by these two democracies—the individual and the social—the twentieth-century democracy is guided in opposite directions. By the impulses which they furnish it is urged now upon the one path, now upon the other.

In which direction has America been moving for the last hundred years?

In which direction ought it to move?

What can thoughtful Americans do to guide it in the right direction: in the family, in the school, in industry, in government, in the institutions of religion?

These are the questions on which I hope to throw some light in the succeeding articles of this series on "The Spirit of Democracy."

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A TROOPER WHO WON A WAR ALONE

BY JACOB A. RIIS

JENS KOFOED was the name of a trooper who served in the disastrous war of Denmark against Sweden in Karl Gustaf's day. He came from the island of Bornholm in the Baltic, where he tilled a farm in days of peace. When his troop went into winter quarters, he got a furlough to go home to receive the new baby that was expected about Christmas. Most of his comrades were going home for the holidays, and their captain made no objection. The Swedish King was fighting in far-off Poland, and no one dreamed that he would come over the ice with his army in the depth of winter to reckon with Denmark. So Jens Kofoed took ship with the promise that he would be back in two weeks. But they were to be two long weeks. They did not hear of him again for many moons, and then strange tidings came of his doings. Single-handed he had bearded the Swedish lion and downed it in a fair fight—strangest of all, almost without bloodshed.

The winter storms blew hard, and it was Christmas eve when he made land, but he came in time to receive not one new heir but twin baby girls. Then there were six of them, counting Jens and his wife, and a merry Christmas they all had together. On Twelfth Night the little ones were christened, and then the trooper bethought himself of his promise to get back soon. The storms had ceased, but worse had befallen; the sea was frozen over as far as eye reached, and the island was cut off from all communication with the outer world. There was nothing for it but to wait. It proved the longest and hardest winter any one then living could remember. Easter was at hand before the ice broke up and let a fishing-smack slip over to Ystad, on the mainland. It came back with news that set the whole island wondering. Peace had been made, and Denmark had ceded all its ancient provinces east of the Oeresund to Karl Gustaf. Ystad itself, and Skaane, the province in which Jens Kofoed had been campaigning, were Swedish now, and so was Bornholm. All unknown to its people, the island had changed hands in the game of war overnight, as it were. A Swedish garrison was coming over presently to take charge.

When Jens Kofoed heard it, he sat down and thought things over. If there was peace, his old captain had no use for him, that was certain; but there might be need of him at home. What would happen there no one could tell. And there were the wife and children to take care of. The upshot of it all was that he stayed. Only, to be on the safe side, he got the Burgomaster and the Aldermen in his home town, Hasle, to set it down in writing that he could not have got back to his troop had he wanted to. Kofoed, it will be seen, was a man with a head on his shoulders, which was well, for presently he had need of it.

There were no Danish soldiers in the island, only a peasant militia, ill armed and untaught in the ways of war; so no one thought of resisting the change of masters. The people simply waited to see what would happen. Along in May a company of one hundred and twenty men with four guns landed and took possession of Castle Hammershus, on the north shore, the only stronghold on the island, in the name of the Swedish King. Colonel Printzensköld, who had command, summoned the islanders to a meeting and told them that he had come to be their governor. They were to obey him, and that was all. The people listened and said nothing.

Perhaps if the new rulers had been wise, things might have kept on so. The people would have tilled their farms and paid their taxes, and Jens Kofoed, with all his hot hatred of the enemy he had fought, might never have been heard of outside his own island. But the Swedish soldiers had been through the Thirty Years' War, and plunder had become their profession. They rioted in the towns, doubled the taxes, put an embargo on trade and export, crushed the industries; worse, they took the young men and sent them away to Karl Gustaf's wars in foreign lands. They

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left only the old men and the boys, and these last they kept a watchful eye on for drafts in days to come. When the conscripts hid in the woods so as not to be torn from their wives and sweethearts, they organized regular man-hunts as if the quarry were wild beasts, and, indeed, the poor fellows were not treated much better when caught.

All summer they did as they pleased; then came word that Karl Gustaf had broken the peace he had made, and of the siege of Copenhagen. The news made the people sit up and take notice. Their rightful sovereign had ceded the island to the Swedish King, that was one thing. But now that they were at war again, these strangers who persecuted them were the public enemy. It was time something were done. In Hasle there was a young parson with his heart in the right place, Poul Anker by name. Jens Kofoed sat in his church; he had been to the wars and was fit to take command. Also, the two were friends. Presently a web of conspiracy spread quietly through the island, gripping priest and peasant, shipper and trader, alike. Its purpose was to rout out the Swedes. The Hasle trooper and parson were the leaders; but their secret was well kept. With the tidings that the Dutch fleet had forced its way through to Copenhagen with aid for the besieged and had bottled the Swedish ships up in Landskrona came a letter purporting to be from King Frederik himself, encouraging the people to rise. It was passed secretly from hand to hand by the underground route and found the island ready for rebellion.

Governor Printzensköld had seen something brewing, but he was a fearless man and despised the "peasant mob." However, he sent to Sweden for a troop of horsemen, the better to patrol the island and watch the people. Early in December, 1658, just a year after Jens Kofoed, the trooper, had set out for his home on furlough, the Governor went to Rönne, the chief city in the island, to start off a ship for the reinforcements. The conspirators sought to waylay him at Hasle, where he stopped to give warning that all who had not paid the heavy war tax would be sold out forthwith; but they were too late. Master Poul and Jens Kofoed rode after him, expecting to meet a band of their fellows on the way, but missed them. The parson stayed behind then to lay the fuse to the mine, while Kofoed kept on to town. By the time he got there he had been joined by four others, Aage Svendsön, Klavs Nielsen, Jens Laurssön, and Niels Gummelöse. The last two were town officers. As soon as the report went around Rönne that they had come, Burgomaster Klaus Kam went to them openly.

The Governor had ridden to the house of the other burgomaster, Per Larssön, who was not in the plot. His horse was tied outside and he just sitting down to supper when Jens Kofoed and his band crowded into the room and took him prisoner. They would have killed him there, but his host pleaded for his life. However, when they took him out in the street, Printzensköld thought he saw a chance to escape in the crowd and the darkness, and sprang for his horse. But his great size made him an easy mark. He was shot through the head as he ran. The man who shot him had loaded his pistol with a silver button torn from his vest. That was sure death to any goblin on whom neither lead nor steel would bite, and it killed the Governor all right. The place is marked to this day in the pavement of the main street as the spot where fell the only tyrant who ever ruled the island against the people's will.

The die was cast now, and there was need of haste. Under cover of the night the little band rode through the island with the news, ringing the church bells far and near to call the people to arms. Many were up and waiting; Master Poul had roused them already. At Hammershus the Swedish garrison heard the clamor and wondered what it meant. They found out when at sunrise an army of half the population thundered on the castle gates summoning them to surrender. Burgomaster Kam sat among them on the Governor's horse, wearing his uniform, and shouted to the officers in command that unless they surrendered, he, the Governor, would be killed and his head sent to his wife in the castle. The frightened woman's tears decided the day. The garrison surrendered, only to discover that they had been tricked. Jens

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Kofoed took command in the castle. The Swedish soldiers were set to doing chores for the farmers they had so lately harassed. The ship that was to have fetched reinforcements from Sweden was sent to Denmark instead, with the heartening news. They needed that kind there just then.

But the ex-trooper, now commandant, knew that a day of reckoning was coming, and kept a sharp lookout. When the hostile ship Spes was reported steering in from the sea, the flag of Sweden flew from the peak of Hammershus and nothing on land betrayed that there had been a change. As soon as she anchored a boat went out with an invitation from the Governor to any officers who might be on board to come ashore and arrange for the landing of the troops. The captain of the ship and the major in charge came, and were made prisoners as soon as the islanders had them where they could not be seen from the ship. It blew up to a storm and the Spes was obliged to put to sea, but as soon as she returned boats were sent out to land the soldiers. They sent only little skiffs that could hold not over three or four, and as fast as they were landed they were overpowered and bound. Half of the company had been thus disposed of when the lieutenant on board grew suspicious, and sent word that without the express orders of the major no more would come. But Jens Kofoed's wit was equal to the emergency. The next boat brought an invitation to the lieutenant to come in and have breakfast with the officers, who would give him his orders there. He walked into the trap; but when he also failed to return, his men refused to follow. He had arranged to send them a sign, they said, that everything was all right. If it did not come, they would sail away to Sweden for help.

It took some little persuasion to make the lieutenant tell about the sign, but in the end Jens Kofoed got it. It turned out to be his pocket-knife. When they saw that, the rest came and were put under lock and key with their fellows.

The ship was left. If that went back, all was lost. Happily, both captain and mate were prisoners ashore. Four boatloads of islanders, with arms carefully stowed under the seats, went out with the mate of the Spes, who was given to understand that if he as much as opened his mouth he would be a dead man, and boarded the ship, taking the crew by surprise. By night the last enemy was comfortably stowed and the ship on her way to Rönne, where the prisoners were locked in the court-house cellar, with shotted guns guarding the door. Perhaps it was the cruelties practiced by Swedish troops in Denmark that preyed upon the mind of Jens Kofoed when he sent the parson to prepare them for death then and there; but better counsel prevailed. They were allowed to live. The whole war cost only two lives, the Governor's and that of a sentinel at the castle who refused to surrender. The mate of the Spes and two of her crew contrived to escape after they had been taken to Copenhagen, and from them Karl Gustaf had the first tidings of how he lost the island.

The captured ship sailed down to Copenhagen with greeting to King Frederik that the people of Bornholm had chosen him and his heirs forever to rule over them on condition that their island was never to be separated from the Danish Crown. The King in his delight presented them with a fine silver cup and made Jens Kofoed captain of the island, besides giving him a handsome estate. He lived thirty-three years after that, the pride of his native island, and raised a large family of children. Not a few of his descendants are to-day living in the United States. In the home of one of them, in Brooklyn, New York, is treasured a silver drinking-cup which King Frederik gave to the ex-trooper; but it is not the one he sent back with his deputation. That one is still in the island of Bornholm.

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THE NEW BOOKS

No book concerning the Philippine Islands, so far as we know, affords to the average reader a more intimate glimpse of Filipino boys and girls than does Miss Mary H. Fee's "A Woman's Impression of the Philippines." Her years of teaching in the islands have enabled her to give a vivid but also a fair, balanced, and judicial account. The Filipino child differs from the American child, we learn, in being more tractable than the latter so long as the teacher displays entire firmness and justice; but when the teacher gives the least sign of weakness, the Filipino child is more unruly than the American. In the Filipino child's temperament the drawbacks of vanity and jealousy are evident. American teachers in the islands have been both amused and annoyed at the children's vain assumptions. "Well done!" a phrase frequently used by an elder to a younger after the accomplishment of some task, is taken, says Miss Fee, by the average Filipino pupil to mean, not a mere "well done" as compared with other pupils, but a positive "well done" as compared with the world. Vanity, of course, is followed by jealousy. Finally we come to the formation of opinions, and in this the Filipino child is feminine in its entire reliance on intuition as compared with the more masculine reliance upon analysis. (A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago. $1.75.)

"The Influence of Darwin on Philosophy" stands first in a series of essays and addresses by Professor Dewey, of Columbia, and gives title to the volume which includes them. They exhibit the principles of the philosophic movement styled pragmatism, and in this consists their unity, however discontinuous. Pragmatism differs from other contemporaneous revisions of classic philosophy by attempting to eliminate rather than to solve certain traditional problems. In its discarding of idealism it is the counterpart in philosophy of the Ritschlian school in theology, which discards metaphysics. Each in its way insists rather on practical values. The introductory address on Darwin's influence claims him as the great path-breaker in this direction. Next comes a cleverly conducted and piquant conversation, in which an idealist and an empiricist, a philistine, a mystic, and their like, discuss "Nature and Its Good." Then follows a luminous lecture on "Intelligence and Morals," where one may pick up some choice epigrams; *e.g.*, "Democracy is essentially a changed psychology," "Wants are the dynamic of social progress rather than the pathology of private greed." Dr. Dewey's style is sufficiently engaging to sustain interest even in passing through deep waters, as in discussing "Beliefs and Existences." The reader of these stimulating essays need not agree with their author that these are "days of declining theology." A complete philosophy is wide enough to include both the transcendentalist and the empiricist, roomy enough for the idealist and the pragmatist to get on together without jostling. (Henry Holt & Co., New York. $1.40, net.)

Under the title "Personal Power" Dr. Tucker has included some of his sermons and addresses to the students of Dartmouth College during his presidency. A discourse at the Old South Church, in Boston, on "The Religion of an Educator," concludes the volume, and finely expresses the spirit and aim of the whole. It is "a part of the business of modern education . . . to uncover the deeper ways of the world to those who are to enter into it, to show them how the stronger and finer ambitions can there be satisfied, to encourage in them a reasonable and a resolute faith in the practicability of righteousness. . . . You cannot say to a man, 'Do this,' or 'Do that.' You can make it necessary for him, through the urgencies of his own spirit, to serve the world. Inspiration, in other words, is as legitimate a part of education as instruction." It would be difficult to give a better account than this of Dr. Tucker's effort in these discourses to bring to bear upon rightly instructed wills the motives needed for the right direction and development of intellectual life. (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.)

Among the world's rulers President Diaz, of Mexico, holds high place. He started his rule as Dictator. When we consider the appalling conditions and characteristics of the Mexico of a generation ago, General Diaz's dictatorial methods become easy of comprehension. He ruled by fear. He now rules largely by the appeal of reasonableness. He has a distinct genius for leadership, whether as Dictator or as constitutional President. He governs his country with wonderful skill. Hence he is respected and admired by most Mexicans. Not the least result of the thirty-year Diaz period of Presidential power is the growth of a strong middle class in Mexico—the hope of any country. Economically General Diaz has done as much for his country as he has done politically. He has encouraged the development of Mexican natural resources with such an efficiency as to win the admiration of those who disapproved, and who still disapprove, some of his political methods. He has the confidence of practically all foreigners. Not the least valuable feature of Señor Godoy's just-published and rather undiscriminatingly laudatory "Porfirio Diaz" are the pages devoted to the appreciations of the President by Americans. Of these the most important seem to be those written by President Taft and Senator Root. President Taft says:

> It has been to me a pleasure and honor to meet that great man to whom more than to any other one person is due the greatness of the Mexican Republic.

And Senator Root says:

> It has seemed to me that of all the men now living President Diaz, of Mexico, was best worth seeing.

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Whether one considers the adventurous, daring, chivalric incidents of his early career; whether one considers the vast work of government which his wisdom and courage and commanding character accomplished; whether one considers the singularly attractive personality, no one lives to-day whom I would rather see than President Diaz.

General Diaz is now about eighty years old. Doubtless he deserves Mr. Root's glowing words. But so long as he lives an impartial biography of him may hardly be expected. In Señor Godoy's interesting volume, however, we did expect to find a nearer approach to that ideal. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.)

Mr. F. A. Simpson's "The Rise of Louis Napoleon" should interest three classes of readers—romanticists, students of Napoleonic literature, and students of the history of the Second Empire. The romanticists may be disappointed, for Mr. Simpson's narrative might have been more vividly told. On the other hand, the students of the history of the Napoleonic Dynasty will, we think, hardly be disappointed, for historians have not yet paid due attention to the period between 1814 and 1848—the period between the First Empire's fall and the Second Empire's rise. The present volume contains some of Louis Napoleon's hitherto unpublished letters. It reveals information based on first-hand sources. It is a serious study. The students of the history of the Second Empire, however, in their turn, may be disappointed if they expect Mr. Simpson's narrative to extend over the first years of the Empire. The volume ends before the Empire begins. Yet its information throws an interesting side-light on the events of those days. One may well read Mr. Simpson's pages before attacking the chief source of illumination concerning the Empire, namely, Ollivier's fourteen volumes of "L'Empire Libéral," for that history allows a single chapter to cover subject-matter occupying twelve chapters in the present volume. Though here and there one finds foot-note references to authorities, for convenience the student might prefer more ample, systematic marginal references; he will be grateful, however, for the capital biographical appendix at the end of the volume. (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $3.50.)

There is a gleam in Mary Lyon's fine eyes looking steadily out from under the folds of her white turban-cap that goes far to account for the power and vitality of her pioneer work for the education of American women. Her Life has been written by Miss Gilchrist with sympathy and great care. If it appears that more is made out of the rather scanty material furnished by Mary Lyon's actual life than might be warranted, on the other hand, the balance is kept because of the tremendous influence of her spirit and teachings, persisting to this day. Energetic, always eager to learn and to do, cheerful, undaunted by the greatest obstacles, and merry withal, Mary Lyon, with all her high ideals, could never have imagined all that has sprung from the small beginnings of her day. She stored electricity and changed the atmosphere of every town in which she taught. Early in her career it is said that so efficient were the pupils she sent out that committeemen were chosen in November instead of March that they might engage her students, and attendance for a term served a girl in place of a certificate. This sort of success attended her all her teaching life, though she was courageous in introducing new methods. She antedated many modern ideas, and worked out her systems herself—applying them most successfully. Miss Grant and Miss Lyon in the Derry-Ipswich school methods boldly deserted "the fashionable sands" of a finishing school, and built on the rock of self-respect, believing in the perfectly respectable quality of women's brains. Mary Lyon said: "If you wish to have a polished education, have a good foundation. You would find it hard to polish a piece of sponge, but not to polish steel." Against tremendous obstacles she kept steadily on her way, and to her we owe much of the present success of education. Her monument is in Mount Holyoke, and her memory is kept alive in the hearts of her pupils and of their daughters. For but twelve years she was principal of Mount Holyoke, yet her impress is indelibly stamped upon the institution. In reading her biography one is conscious that a less marked contrast between Miss Lyon's terse, nervous English and the elaborate style of her biographer would leave a more pleasant impression. Mary Lyon said, "Take an extended view—look at the whole;" but we cannot imagine her framing this sentence, "Through what is, she glimpsed what ought to be." (Houghton Mifflin Company, Boston. $1.50.)

Mr. Samuel Gompers's "Labor in Europe and America" is the record of a tour through England and several European countries taken last year by the President of the American Federation of Labor for the purpose of studying labor conditions abroad. Traveling from place to place—to Liverpool, London, Manchester, Paris, Berlin, Munich, Cologne, Brussels, Antwerp, Vienna, Budapest, Rome, Milan, Naples, and many other cities—Mr. Gompers wrote home every few days a letter descriptive of what he saw. It is these letters, supplemented by a few written after his return to the United States, which form the present volume. As he stayed in no place more than a few days, it was impossible for him to undertake any exhaustive investigation; but his official position everywhere facilitated his inquiries, and opened to him channels of information that would otherwise have remained more or less tightly closed. The result is a unique book of travel and a survey of value to the economist and the student of social conditions. Mr. Gompers does not conceal his belief that nowhere is the status of the

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workingman so satisfactory as in the United States—to use his own incisive phrase, "in the procession, America is first." This, as may be anticipated, he attributes to the effectiveness of the trade-union organization. Not even in England did he find anything approaching the solidarity and force of the labor movement in this country, from the point of view of actually bettering the condition of the wage-earner. Next to England—which he rates only second to the United States—he places Germany. Worst off, in his opinion, as regards the condition of the workingman, are Hungary, Holland, and Belgium, in the last two of which he found "evidences of a chronic misery among the masses." Lack of cohesion, dominance by "intellectuals" of Utopian and Socialistic tendencies, or by selfish politicians, provide, Mr. Gompers thinks, ample explanation for the backwardness of the European labor movement. Doubtless many European leaders will challenge some of his statements, but on the whole he seems to have fortified himself with facts sufficient to sustain his main contentions. Apart from its significance as a contribution to contemporary economic discussion, his book is interesting for its frank and vigorous comment on European conditions in general—conditions of travel, hotel life, etc., all of which were little to Mr. Gompers's liking. An easily read book this, not without obvious faults, but assuredly entertaining and informing. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.)

"Marion Harland's Autobiography" is a simple, unaffected story of a long life lived, from birth, in wholesome conditions. Mrs. Terhune knew the South in its prime, a quarter-century before the Civil War, and, being of mingled Northern and Southern ancestry, she gives a broad and keenly appreciative account of those early days. Her father was from New England, and she married Dr. Edward Payson Terhune, who brought her North, where most of her life has been spent. While her name immediately recalls her excellent and truly pioneer work in teaching housekeeping, she has been a prolific writer of fiction. From babyhood she used to dream herself to sleep "making up stories." Her common sense, cheerful outlook, and literary tastes, with a training in the best traditions of American home life, have contributed to her success. There is nothing in technical training alone that really fits one for usefulness, if, in old-fashioned phrase, "the sweet amenities of the Christian home" are lacking. Mrs. Terhune was born into such a home, and, when the time came, she made such a home for her husband and children. She does not discuss at length the differences between North and South a half-century ago, but one can feel the thrill of sorrowful separation caused by the war through many of the years she writes about. Her journey North, from Richmond to Newark, on the "last through train for four years," was an experience never to be forgotten, and she has told it with a vigor and depth of understanding that stirs her readers profoundly. The survivors of those days are few now who can relate their personal experiences, and it is well for this generation to know of their sufferings and loyalty. Mrs. Terhune had a genius for friendship and always found congenial spirits, of whom she writes pleasantly. She has proved the wisdom of self-forgetfulness and wide sympathy, for nothing so preserves freshness of feeling and real youthfulness of heart as these rare qualities. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.)

Is it as good as "Septimus"? is the question that will naturally be asked about Mr. W. J. Locke's new story, "Simon the Jester." It may be said that the book at least gives us a character sure to be remembered with the same affection we all have for Septimus and for Paragot, the Beloved Vagabond. Simon is less eccentric than these his predecessors, but he has his whimsical side, and he has also the single-heartedness of the true gentleman. Mr. Locke lets Simon present his personality through his own words—a method that requires delicate art and innumerable fine touches. By the perversity of events this "Jester" (a man of culture, wealth, and rising political success) is put into perplexities of no ordinary kind. He has been told that he will die within six months, and he proposes to await the end without outcry and philosophically, but to gain for his own comfort meanwhile what he calls "eumoirety," from Marcus Aurelius's word "*eumoiros*"—that happiness which comes from generosity and a spirit of courteous helpfulness. He tries gently and unobtrusively to withdraw from social life, but fate involves him in new problems and relations—odd, exciting, and even tragic. Simon does not always emerge brilliantly from his troubles, but he does emerge, and with stronger character and purpose. The "*dompteuse*," once a trainer of animals, now a woman of rich charm and honest capacity for love, is the leading feminine figure, and has a striking individuality; while the dwarf "professor," who trains cats and crazily builds up his great "combination," is a singular, but not convincing, creation. The deftness with which Mr. Locke takes surprising turns in his plots, the apparent irony and real geniality of his writing, together with the union in his manner of the bizarre and the sincere—all make his books hard to classify, but easy to enjoy. (John Lane Company, New York. $1.50.)

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LETTERS TO THE OUTLOOK

THE LIGHTING OF A DARK CONTINENT

[Last October The Outlook published two articles on the problems involved in the civilization of Africa. The author, Dr. W. S. Rainsford, former rector of St. George's Church, New York City, told with the utmost frankness of the conditions he encountered in his journeys through the Dark Continent. He described the characteristics of the negro peoples as he saw them, and the environment in which they lived. He also wrote with great appreciation of the work that the missionaries are doing there. He made, however, very candid critical comment about the work of the missionaries, and in particular urged upon missionary societies the presentation to the African natives of a simple religion, the training of these natives in habits of industry, and the recognition that under the peculiar circumstances of their lives some kind of enforced labor was necessary. Dr. Rainsford's record as one of the great social forces in a big city, his years of devotion not only to the preaching of truth but also to service of all sorts and conditions of men, and his success in making St. George's a church of the people and not a church of any class, are sufficient proof, if proof were needed, that his criticism was made in the interest of the people of Africa. It takes time for words to be carried back and forth between America and Africa. It was therefore some months after the publication of those articles that the following letter was received at the office of The Outlook. It is not addressed to The Outlook, but we are permitted to print it. It has come from the Rev. Merlin W. Ennis, the missionary of the American Board at Sachikela, in Portuguese West Africa.—THE EDITORS.]

I have been reading Dr. Rainsford's article "How Can the African be Civilized?" He says a good many good things, and has seen some things which veteran missionaries have overlooked, yet, on the whole, his views are vitiated by a superficial understanding of the conditions which he discusses. I find issue with Dr. Rainsford on each of the three counts which he makes:

Simple Religion.—I would have been very grateful to him if he had definitely stated what he meant by that. Of course I do not know what the missionaries whom he is criticising have been teaching. To me it sounds like one of those things which say easily and sound good as long as there are no missionaries around. Now, if Dr. Rainsford had to preach to the same people about four hundred and fifty times a year for several years I think he would broaden his statement. I quite agree with him as to the futility of being shackled by home traditions and methods. Yet after one has sized up the situation, if he has any worth, he will prefer orderly teaching to disorderly teaching, and will start from somewhere to arrive at somewhere. As to the Trinity, or rather the doctrine of the Trinity, I find that they have less difficulty in understanding it than I have in explaining it. He says that they have no interest in a future life. I have found quite the contrary. Just last week Mrs. Ennis said to me: "Do you know, the thing which arouses the greatest interest and never fails of attention when I talk to the women is the subject of a future life."

Industrial Education.—His ideas on industrial education and forced labor are singularly like those which Mrs. Ennis was advocating a year ago. If Dr. Rainsford means by that the formal teaching of trades—yes, mean what he may—I say that is *not* of first importance, nor of second. Professor Münsterberg, in a recent number of the "Atlantic," deals with the false philosophy underlying that statement more thoroughly than I can. I have heard that criticism of our work more than once by people who never stopped to consider that character is the first requisite in our industrial education.

A skilled rascal is of little value to society or industry. Honesty, faithfulness, and cooperation, and not the three R's, are the principal unreligious things which we are teaching.

We are, as a mission, conducting a great socio-industrial university. It is not so labeled in any report. It would be quite unheeded by the casual passer-by. The students are the men whom we have tending our gardens and trees, making our bricks, feeding our chickens, cooking our food, etc. The natives are building better houses, breeding better animals, raising better and more varied crops, cooking better, sleeping better, dressing better, being more frugal and thrifty, being more industrious and painstaking—and there are not any statistics on the subject, yet it is the very essence of an industrial school.

Some one on the Congo was writing of his "Industrial School," of how he got young men in and taught them to cultivate and build fences, cut wood, cook, wash, etc. In the afternoon they read and wrote, and the principal took them with him to the villages, where they helped him in singing, etc., etc. Mrs. Ennis said, "Oh, if we could just have something like that!" Then I pointed out that if we should call our "boys" a "Training School" and let our language out a hole or two, we could duplicate this institution paragraph by paragraph, and something over.

For this place Mr. Currie's institute has the best ideas for industrial training that I know of.

As for establishing any commercial industry in this colony, it is out of the question. The Colonial Code might be fitly labeled "Measures for the Suppression of Indus-

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try." Everything is taxed. Every time a new industry has been started it has been taxed out of existence. One may not have a wagon without paying a tax and a license. The pastor of the church at Bailinda, who has some skill with saw and plane, was recently fined fifty dollars for doing work for a trader without having a license.

Agriculture is the greatest prospect here. I have been giving away the seed of corn, cotton, beans, etc. One of the first things to do would be to have the natives properly prepare, fertilize, and fence their fields. I have been deterred from making any attempts, for I see that a man would no more than get a piece of land under proper cultivation than he would either be taxed to death by the Government or ousted from his holding by some greedy trader.

Forced Labor.—Dr. Rainsford is quite right in thinking that his doctrine of forced labor would not be accepted by every one. Forced labor is slavery, whether recompensed or not. In the first place, it is unnecessary. In the second place, it would be the surest means of defeating that industrial development which he is advocating.

I have had opportunities for inquiring about East Africa. A great many of the mineral concessions men and railway men have spent more or less time on the East side. One gentleman who was formerly in the employ of a trading company in the East African Protectorate has made us several visits of some days each. He was very glad to talk of his former experiences, which he did very interestingly and at length.

He said that the young men used to go down in great numbers to work in the mines, and when something—I have forgotten what—came to pass which prevented them doing this, it caused a great financial depression. One result of this was that he lost his job. Another man brought a gang of men from the lakes here to work on the railway. These instances are to prove my first contention in citing from East Africa alone—forced labor is unnecessary. He admits the state of affairs in the Congo, and says of the Portuguese that its forced labor is in practically the same condition which it was in three hundred years ago; that is, it is slavery.

I think that there is no doubt that the Portuguese colonies and the Congo, though possessing some of the finest tribes and many natural advantages, are more backward industrially than any other part of the continent. That is for my second contention: Forced labor is inimical to industrial development. If anything further is needed, consider the American negro. I knew Dr. Rainsford's arguments by heart long before I saw them under his name in The Outlook. Every slave-owner in the Colony talks them, every planter in San Thomé preaches them. Some of the men connected with the railway and the mines were able to secure as many porters and laborers as they wished, paying only a nominal wage. Others had to depend on coast blacks and Croo boys entirely, paying them high wages. These latter are fluent in the doctrines of forced labor. As far as I have observed, the people who profit and wish to profit by forced labor are the ones unfit to have men under them. Not a month passes without some village in the vicinity being thrown into confusion by the soldiers sent out from the fort to compel men to come in to serve as porters or laborers for some white man who pays them more for the service than I pay. The soldiers reap a regular graft from those who pay, sometimes heavily, for the privilege of escaping. Scarcely a day passes in which I do not turn away those who come seeking employment. As far as I have been able to learn, my experience is the experience of every square-dealing man in Africa. God alone knows what the African has already suffered from the doctrine of forced labor. Let us pray for an end of it.

THE CRISIS IN TURKEY

The whole continent of Asia is awakening out of the sleep of centuries. Almost every country feels the influence of it, and Turkey among the rest.

One of the great changes in this country is the taking of Christians into the army. As a personal matter it is much easier to pay the exemption tax of two dollars a year than to serve in the army, but Christians themselves have known that their exclusion from the army means their inferiority to the Turks, while the Turks have been unwilling to admit them to this equality. This is incorporated into the new Constitution, but it was on the point of failure through the opposition of a class of Turks, but the Christians insisted upon it, and the Sultan ordered it.

The reading here a few weeks ago of the firman which confirmed the decision was an imposing public affair. The *Kaimakam* requested that our College boys should be present, so they were gathered in one part of the court of the Government building, and boys from the Turkish Military School in another part. After the reading of the firman, one of our boys read a graceful little address in Turkish, congratulating the Government upon the adoption of this new measure. This was followed by an address of welcome to our boys from a member of the Turkish school, and another boy from the same school read another paper approving this scheme. Several addresses by prominent Turks and a prayer by the Mufti closed the service. The draft has been going on since that time, and now nearly one thousand Armenians, Syrians, and Protestants have been drafted in this vilayet, and after a few days they will be distributed among the Turkish regiments. Christians have wished to have a separate regiment, but, of course, that could not be accepted by the Government. Christian young men have made great effort to avoid the draft,

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some escaping to America and others trying to prove that their age does not bring them within the legal limit.

There is no doubt that the new Government has the laudable desire and plan to blend the different races into one Osmanli nationality. I doubt if any other government has so difficult a task. There are Turks, Arabs, Kurds, Armenians, Greeks, Syrians, Bulgarians, etc., who for centuries have maintained a separate existence, with a degree of hostility to one another, and these prejudices cannot be readily laid aside. With the proclamation of the Constitution attempts were made by Turks and Christians to fraternize, but the Cilicia massacres destroyed the confidence of the Christians in the sincerity of the Turks and Kurds. They say that they are not to be trusted. The reactionary element among the Moslems throughout the Empire is very strong, and it is not certain that the Government will be able to restrain it. If it succeeds in preventing open violence again like that at Adana, a long time will be necessary to overcome the prejudices of past ages and secure real unity. Education is the most powerful factor in creating a liberal sentiment among the different races, stronger than imperial edicts; therefore the colleges should be strengthened. In some respects the colleges in the interior of the country are more important than those at the seacoast cities, although the latter attract the attention of the general public most. The leavening influence of education is most needed among the masses in the interior. This should attract the attention of those philanthropists who are planning to help this ancient Empire in her present overwhelming attempts at general reform.

The American Board is undertaking to raise an endowment of $2,000,000 for all the institutions of higher learning among its various missions throughout the world. This ought not to be a difficult task if its constituency is really awake to the importance of the scheme.

Education among the Armenians has now reached the degree of development when it is desirable to plan for an institution higher than its present colleges—a University—and there is no more natural center for such an institution than Harpoot, with its important Euphrates College. This College is located in the center of Armenia. For the prosecution of its present work, even, it needs a larger endowment, but the future Armenian University must have a large endowment if it is to meet its imperative needs as a suitable agent in the new reform movement.

HERMAN N. BARNUM.

Euphrates College, Harpoot, Turkey.

[Recent news announces the death of Dr. Barnum at his post of service, in his seventy-third year. A native of Stratford, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale College and Auburn Theological Seminary, for forty-three years a missionary of the American Board, and long at the head of the strategically placed Euphrates College, in eastern Turkey, he was a leader in the patient toil whose fruits are now beginning to appear in the dawn of a new era for Turkey. It is from the missionary colleges that the Young Turk party derive their ideas. Dr. Barnum had for many years occasionally sent letters to The Outlook, and it is a mark of the changes in Turkish affairs that formerly it was necessary to print them with no indications of authorship.—THE EDITORS.]

MEXICO

The leading statesmen of the United States and of various Latin-American republics have been striving for years to bring about more intimate relations between those republics and our own, and it is exceedingly unfortunate that a series of sensational articles should have been published in an American illustrated magazine dealing with alleged abuses and violations of law in Mexico. As a people we are often regarded by Latin-Americans as lacking in consideration for the feelings of others, and we are sometimes characterized as "brutal." Certainly the publication of such sensational and prejudiced articles tends to confirm such impressions and to create suspicion, not in governmental circles, but in the minds of Latin-Americans who read translations of lurid portions of such articles.

Abuses and violations of law occur in every government, but it is just as logical to attribute the "white slave traffic" or lynching in the United States to President Taft as to attribute alleged violation of law in Mexico to President Diaz.

Americans should remember that the great mass of people in Latin-American countries are illiterate and ignorant. They have been accustomed for generations to despotic and paternal government, and have no idea of the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. Moreover, on account of their temperament and training they are easily excited and led, and in the hands of unscrupulous politicians they become powerful factors in political affairs.

Latin-American political affairs, while modeled on the same general lines as those of the United States, are in practice so different as hardly to be comparable. The Governmental party controls practically all the affairs of the country. The Opposition party, nominally political, is essentially revolutionary, and usually aims at overthrowing the Government by a revolution, no matter what the stated objects may be.

What President Diaz has accomplished for Mexico seems hardly credible even to those familiar with the conditions. He has given that country peace. Revolution and civil war, with their horrors, have been eliminated. Just laws have been enacted, and the laws dealing with involuntary servitude are more rigorous than in the United States. Marvelous progress has been made in educa-

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tional, economic, and political lines, and Mexico is honored and respected by the nations of the world. Much, of course, remains to be done, for Mexico is a comparatively new nation; but thoughtful men of all nations hope that when President Porfirio Diaz relinquishes the reins of government they will fall into equally good hands. Future historians will place the name of Porfirio Diaz high on the roll of Mexico's patriots and statesmen.

N. S. MAYO.

Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

BOY SCOUTS IN AMERICA

I should like to indorse all you say in the paragraph on the "Boy Scout Movement in England" concerning the good resulting from the training which a Boy Scout receives. I have had the honor of leading a patrol of Scotch Boy Scouts, and since I have been in this country I have raised two patrols and corresponded a good deal with other men interested in the movement. If the Boy Scouts increase in number in this country as they have in Great Britain, and I think they will, the good resulting from the training cannot be overestimated. It puts just that stiffening into the average American boy which is so often lacking, the stiffening which comes from learning how to obey and how to command.

Out here in the Middle West the greatest difficulty I have had to deal with is the utter lack of any kind of discipline in the boys, there being very little parental authority and often none at all; the result is that as soon as the boys find that scouting is not all honey they are apt to drop off. The success of the patrol, as always, depends on the patrol leader or Scoutmaster as much as on the boys. One of the patrols I raised here is, for the time at least, in abeyance for this reason. The other patrol, the Ravens, consisting of the Episcopal Cathedral choir, is very flourishing and preparing for camp in a business-like manner. They have been awarded their Scout badges and are now engaged in practicing for the signaling and cycling badges.

The object of this letter is to appeal through your columns to those interested in the welfare of the boys of this country, and who believe in or wish to know about this movement, to come forward as soon as possible and exchange ideas, notes, and experiences. A central executive body should be formed for the purpose of giving weight and co-ordination to the actions of the local patrol leaders and Scoutmasters. If this can be effected, I have no doubt that this country will benefit to the same extent as Great Britain has done; the boys becoming better mentally and physically as well as morally.

F. JOHN ROMANES
(Late Second Lieutenant Lovat Scouts, Beauly, Scotland).

St. John's Military School, Salina, Kansas.

RIGHTEOUS ANGER

By way of comment on Dr. Dole's letter in your issue of March 19, one is tempted to observe, first, that no one of the four Gospels says that Jesus was angry when he drove the money-changers out of the Temple; second, that even if he had been angry, there might have been rational cause for it. A man incapable of righteous indignation seems an incomplete man. But the question whether anger was justified in this case is useless, since the tradition of cleansing the Temple from dishonest business says nothing of anger. There were vigor and zeal.

CHARLES P. PARKER.

Harvard University,
Cambridge, Massachusetts.

[Anger is not always wrong. "Be ye angry and sin not" is the divine law, because it is the divine ideal.—THE EDITORS.]

A QUOTATION

[A number of inquiries have been received concerning the origin of the quotation, "The life of God in the soul of man," in an editorial in The Outlook a few weeks since. The following information, therefore, from the Rev. Dr. Charles F. Dole, of Jamaica Plain, Massachusetts, may be interesting.—THE EDITORS.]

I found this morning in the Boston Public Library a tiny volume of about eighty pages containing the quotation. It was printed in Boston in 1741, without the author's name, but credited in the catalogue to Henry Scougal, son of a Bishop of Aberdeen, Scotland, and born in 1650 at Salton in East Lothian, educated in the University of Aberdeen, made Professor of Philosophy there at twenty years old, took orders and settled at Auchterless, appointed Professor of Divinity at King's College in 1675, and died 1678. Bishop Barnet had the little book published in 1677, at first without the author's name. Later this and certain sermons are said to have been printed together with the name. I find these facts given in Rose's Dictionary of Biography. The idea of the book seems to have been developed from the text, "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God," etc., printed on the title-page. The Boston edition prints Whitefield's appreciation: "I never knew what true religion was till God sent me that excellent treatise."

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